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N. B. COUSINS
Literary Editor

The WORLD TODAY IN BOOKS

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>The Story of Dictatorship</i>	E. E. Kellett	Dutton	\$1.75
<i>The Profits of War</i>	Richard Lewinsohn	Dutton	\$3.00
<i>A History of Peaceful Change in the Modern World</i>	C. R. M. F. Cruttwell	Oxford	\$3.00
<i>A History of the Art of War in the 16th Century</i>	Sir Charles Oman	Dutton	\$6.00
<i>The Road to Reunion</i>	Paul H. Buck	Little, Brown	\$3.25
<i>Integrity: The Life of George W. Norris</i>	Richard L. Neuberger Stephen B. Kahn	Vanguard	\$3.00
<i>Lord Bothwell and Mary Queen of Scots</i>	Robert Gore-Brown	Doubleday, Doran	\$4.00
<i>Christianity and Communism</i>	Edited by H. Wilson Harris	Marshall Jones	\$1.50
<i>Africa and Christianity</i>	Diedrich Westerman	Oxford	\$2.25
<i>A Puritan Outpost</i>	Herbert Collings Parsons	Macmillan	\$5.00

IT SEEMS that this business of fascism is old stuff and Messrs. Hitler and Mussolini, in addition to their other accomplishments, are out-and-out plagiarists. They have lifted their design for despotism right out of history, says E. E. Kellett in *The Story of Dictatorship*, a little book which says more in 200 pages than one might usually find in a shelf of volumes on the subject.

Mr. Kellett points out that the facilities available to an Il Duce or a Der Fuehrer today give them an advantage over a Phalaris or a Dionysius of several thousand years ago. A twentieth-century dictator may have the gift of the radio and the press to aid him in blanketing the country with propaganda, but his message has not changed. The technique may be a little more advanced, but the philosophy remains the same. He still extols the mailed fist and the fiction of a superior race. His is the divine right; the law and his will are one and the same. Those who oppose his will are law-breakers and must be liquidated. A Mussolini does not have the fire-

pits of the ancient Greeks but disposes of his political prisoners on an Island of Lipari. A Hitler has his concentration camps and the more direct medium of purge.

Mr. Kellett discloses other strong similarities. Herr Hitler may or may not be surprised to learn that in 500 B.C. Cleisthenes destroyed certain religions and drew a smoke-screen over these activities by whipping the people into a lather of enthusiasm over the Olympic Games. Cleisthenes staked everything on victories in the Games—sparing no expense in training his drivers, runners, and boxers. And Dionysius, of ancient Sicily, rode the high road to power through the oratory of a demagogue, stirring up the people with eloquent word-pictures of better days. Dionysius, too, had a personal military force whose modern counterpart is the Schutz Staffel. He first persuaded the people that a small group of bodyguards was necessary after staging an imaginary conspiracy against his life. But the small group rapidly grew to a sizeable army whose strength was above challenge. A typical tyrant,

Dionysius was suspicious of everyone and rather than trust even a barber, he cut his own hair.

It also appears that Mussolini showed a great lack of originality when he dispatched his butcher-battalions to Ethiopia for the supposed purpose of giving Italy a bigger place in the sun. Dictators down through history, it is apparent from Mr. Kellett's book, have sought to conceal internal calamity by external conquest. As far back as Agathocles the Sicilian, who, incidentally, also fought his "war of revenge" in Africa, it has been good strategy to unify a dissenting and disintegrating nation by beating the battle drums. Agathocles, in fact, seems to have served as a general all-around model for the Italian dictator. He came into power by posing as the one man who could save the State, and once having gained authority with a show of legality, slaughtered or banished his enemies. He kept the people busy at one thing or another, so they had no time to think and even less to conspire. He converted the organs of opinion into outlets for his own propaganda, and significantly, made military alliances with other tyrants—that is, unless they were weak enough to invite attack. Shades of Hitler and Mussolini in Spain!

And for other parallels to the Rome-Berlin axis, we turn to countless similar instances in history. One of the earliest, perhaps, is the agreement between Lygdamis and Peisistratus, tyrants of high standing in the sixth century, to join forces, attack a weak neighbor, and divide the spoils. Similarly, Aristodemus, tyrant of Cumae, gave assistance and refuge to Tarquin the Proud in his exile.

But lest it appear that *The Story of Dictatorship* is a comparison *in toto* of the very ancient despots and the very new, it is emphasized that Mr. Kellett's effort is concerned with the entire assortment of history's tyrants, allowing the reader to draw his own analogies. Such a treatment must necessarily make for a certain sketchiness, but Mr. Kellett would have had to abandon his central theme of a bird's eye view of dictatorship had he attempted to chronicle each of the individual careers of the dictators.

Rated according to brilliance in a parade of history's great tyrants, a Hitler or a Mussolini could hardly hope to be anything more than a back-row unit in a fife and drum corps. Here is a procession that has a Caesar, a Philip of Macedon, a Napoleon, a Machiavelli, an Oliver Cromwell, and a Savonarola. But on a basis of power and ruthlessness, the modern dictators are well up in the front ranks, apparently aiming to out-march the entire parade.

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THE *Story of Dictatorship* is only one of a large number of recent books which have sought to clarify the layman's understanding of important aspects of world affairs by exploring their backgrounds. In this category would also come *The Profits of War* by Richard Lewinsohn, *A History of Peaceful Change in the Modern World*, by C. R. M. F. Cruttwell, and *A History of the Art of War in the 16th Century*, by Sir Charles Oman.

It is customary to associate profits in war with the manufacturers of armaments. But Mr. Lewinsohn's work—an excellent supplementary volume to Philip Noel-Baker's *The Private Manufacture of Armaments* of several months ago—makes the point that this phase of war profiteering is relatively new. The dealers in death devices did not cut heavily into the division of the war profits until the nineteenth century. Before then, rulers, military commanders, financiers, and speculators exploited war as a get-rich-quick medium. Julius Caesar started his career in public office with obligations in debt amounting to 830 talents—about \$2,000,000—but as the result of ten years of warfare amassed a fortune of 2250 talents, or about \$6,500,000. William the Conqueror passed his

last years with an annual income of \$2,000,000—almost all of which was directly traceable to his military successes. Wallenstein's genius as a soldier in the Thirty Years' War was as nothing compared to his genius as a financial entrepreneur. It was no accident that he holds the all-time record, perhaps, for profits made out of war by a general. He put battles on a straight business basis and made them pay. He made profits out of arms, soldiers, nobility, property, friends and enemies alike; although he was able to retain only a fraction of his wealth, his fortune was well above \$10,000,000 when he retired.

Napoleon was able to draw an income of 25,000,000 francs a year at the height of his power, but lost his fortune when he lost his job. And Wellington, his conqueror, made more out of one grand military success than the Little Corporal was able to make over a period of years. Wellington's war profits were estimated in the vicinity of a million pounds.

It was in the time of Napoleon that the financiers first began to play an all-important part in furnishing rulers with the wherewithal to carry on their war businesses. Mr. Lewinsohn says that the profits accumulated during this period by the House of Rothschild enabled that family to build up an immense fortune, the largest which the world had known until then. Before the Rothschilds there were the Florentine bankers; Jacques Coeur, minister of finance under Charles VII; Jacob Fugger, the German Banker; and the bankers Ephraim and Itzig. The author suggests that the then unprecedented importance and success of the Rothschilds was not due to financial genius alone. The combination of circumstances surrounding Napoleon's military expeditions, the canny speculative instinct of the investors, the ability to retain wealth, a knowledge of men—all these contributed to the success of Europe's money masters.

Having traced the war-profit activities of those who carried arms and those who financed them, Mr. Lewinsohn now turns to those who made them. Europe's Big Four in armaments—Krupp, Vickers, Armstrong, and Schneider—started almost simultaneously. Krupp dealt with anybody who would buy; he would finance both sides of a war, playing one against the other, even when his own nation was involved. Shortly before the World War, Krupp was employing 70,000 people—20,000 less, incidentally, than its present peace-time high. And Schneider, which was in favor from the very first among rulers, plodded a steady course. Vickers had its greatest growth shortly before and during the war as the result of the peculiar ability of Basil Zaharoff, greatest

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armament salesman of all time. Armstrong was right behind Krupp and Vickers in importance.

Today, the prominence of the armament manufacturers is evanescent. A group whose profits in war are more indirect now stands to gain the most by war: "The center of gravity, as it were, of war profits has been on the whole, if not altogether, regularly shifting away from the actual theatre of military operations. The Armament firms are now menaced, and it is doubtful whether they will ever see again the profits they have enjoyed in the past. Evolution is at work to make war profits more and more indirect, so that Julius Caesar's place is now to be taken by some magnate of the canning trade."

The Profits of War is timely and profitable reading. Mr. Lewinsohn's book, translated from the French, is a product of careful research. Though it would appear that the scope of such a work might make for an episodic account, the story is surprisingly well-integrated, and has the added advantage of good writing, for the material is so fascinating that it demands, and has, an interesting presentation.

ONE of history's greatest paradoxes is that man always has sought peace yet always has prepared for war. Sometimes—though not frequently enough—he has been able to lay aside his guns and settle his differences peacefully. What these occasions have been and how they have succeeded is the interesting theme of C. R. M. F. Cruttwell's *A History of Peaceful Change in the Modern World*.

Of course, the term "peaceful change" requires precise definition. If a Germany should surround a Czechoslovakia with men and munitions and, knowing that no other major power would intercede, say: "Give us half your country, or else . . .," the smaller nation would probably accede "peacefully." Rather than lose the entire country, she would probably give in without a fight.

But Mr. Cruttwell is clear on this point. "Bloodless wars" do not count. Where there is a threat of force there is no true peaceful change. Louis XIV marched an army into Strasbourg, waved a big stick, and promised to lay about him if the citizens did not agree to incorporate their free city into France. But the club never landed for the citizens realized that uncracked skulls were the better part of valor.

Then, too, there can be change without war even though that very act of change may constitute a threat of war. When Germany goose-stepped into the Rhineland last year and violated the Treaty of Versailles, she barely escaped provoking war, technically accomplishing a peace-

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ful change. This could not properly come under the same heading, say, as a change which has come about as the result of an international plebiscite.

Recognizing that there are so many varieties and so many shades of peaceful change, Mr. Cruttwell decided to treat them categorically. He has divided his book into six main chapters: disputes about boundaries and sovereignty; cession; creation and extinction of sovereignty; popular consultations and plebiscites; and changes of status.

Mr. Cruttwell holds out great hope for peaceful change in our present-day civilization. Nations are not likely to risk a war which may cripple themselves beyond recovery—at least, not over little issues. But the issues today can hardly be called trifling. They involve sharply-conflicting ideologies and a clash of social philosophies, each of which is in utter contempt of the other. To all of this Mr. Cruttwell is not oblivious, but he sees tremendous possibilities for good in the League of Nations and in the increased use of the international plebiscite. The plebiscite should give increasing confidence, he says, that the “will of any given population can, in Europe at least, be unequivocally obtained before a proposed transfer of territory is made absolute.”

Mr. Cruttwell has handled his subject well. His division of the types of peaceful change into separate chapters is an aid to ready-reference and offers the reader a convenient grasp of the material.

MORE than a decade ago, Sir Charles Oman, professor of History at the University of Oxford, completed his *Art of War in the Middle Ages*. The work was widely-recognized and students of military science anxiously have been looking forward to the continuation of Dr. Oman's study through the sixteenth century. This Dr. Oman

has done in *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century*.

In explaining the “military psychology” of the period, Dr. Oman has approached the subject from the point of view of contemporary thought. Thus, he has placed most stress upon the strategy of the military mind, of the “art of war” of the sixteenth century, instead of overburdening the work with unimportant records or details of individual battles. He has selected for exhaustive treatment only those battles or campaigns which were typical of the military development of the period, highlighting the contributions to advanced warfare of each of the battles. Ravenna, for example, is the first instance in which a victory was won by a completely dominant artillery. Marignano and Pinkie served to establish the folly of pitting an old-fashioned infantry-army against the combination of all arms. And the battles of Garigliano and Pavia show the strategic advantage of surprising the enemy before he can maneuver his forces into fighting position.

For his material, Dr. Oman visited the actual sites of many of the wars although in many cases three centuries had obliterated the old topography. The ground at Vienna, site of the siege by Sultan Soliman in 1529, was built over by “featureless suburbs.” The outline of Ravenna, where on April 11, 1512 an important battle was fought, was changed by an enterprising cardinal named Cersini in the eighteenth century, who blocked the courses of the two main rivers in the region, creating the new, broad, artificial channel. The only battlefields, in fact, which were essentially unchanged, were Flodden and Fornovo, early sixteenth-century battle sites.

The text of Dr. Oman's work is enlivened through the frequent use of maps and battle-pictures, some of which were designed by eye-witnesses. The book is thoroughly-documented and should be of extreme value to students in the field.

THERE is an adequate history of the Reconstruction Period following the Civil War. But while the historians have emphasized reconstruction they have paid scant attention to reconciliation. The one is as important as the other and it is surprising to discover that Professor Paul H. Buck's *The Road to Reunion* breaks virtually untouched ground.

The wounds of civil warfare never fully healed until the beginning of the twentieth century. As the victor, the North found it hard to forget that it had won. It resented the South's lack of servility. And the South resented just as deeply the arrogance of the North and considered itself



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a nation apart. But slowly both groups began to give ground. And it is with this healing process that the *Road to Reunion* is concerned.

The forces of reconciliation took one generation to fully manifest themselves. And American nationalism was the rallying point around which both North and South began to lose their misunderstanding, mistrust, and resentment of each other. A new, vibrant nation was in the making—the industrial revolution, with its pulse-quickening rush towards a new type of civilization had given both factions a common stream in which to submerge their differences. The North was the first to be caught in the surging, life-giving current and looked past factionalism to a joint glory. Soon the South was in the swim, too, multiplying its factories, furnaces, and forges. Dixie was able to boast for the first time that her economy was not entirely dependent upon agriculture but could look to manufactures for wealth and prosperity. The South had “hung out the latch-string and hoped the North would freely enter.” The enthusiasm of this new America, says Professor Buck, was “so remarkable that all the ancient prejudices and lingering doubts were swept aside.”

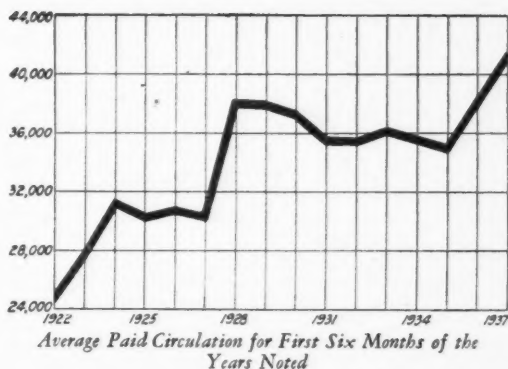
The child of reconciliation had grown, by the turn of the twentieth century, into a fully-grown and healthy young man. When the Spanish-American war broke out Confederate veterans were anxious to demonstrate that they could wear the blue as well as the grey. The war with Spain, Professor Buck adds, completed the “revolution in sentiment through which the generation had passed. For a time all people within the country felt the electrifying thrill of a common purpose. When it subsided a sense of nationality had been rediscovered, based upon consciousness of national strength and unity.”

The care with which Professor Buck has composed *The Road to Reunion* is manifest on every page. As a scholar, he is chary of the all-conclusive statement and his first allegiance is to the facts, preferring to record them simply and clearly for the reader, rather than impose a heavily-interpretative character upon his book. *The Road to Reunion* is a first-rate product and a distinctive contribution to historical literature.

PROMINENT among non-fiction biographies of the month have been *Integrity: The Life of George W. Norris* by Richard L. Neuberger and Stephen B. Kahn, and *Lord Bothwell and Mary, Queen of Scots* by Robert Gore-Brown.

The Senator from Nebraska is at last reaping

(Continued on page 110)



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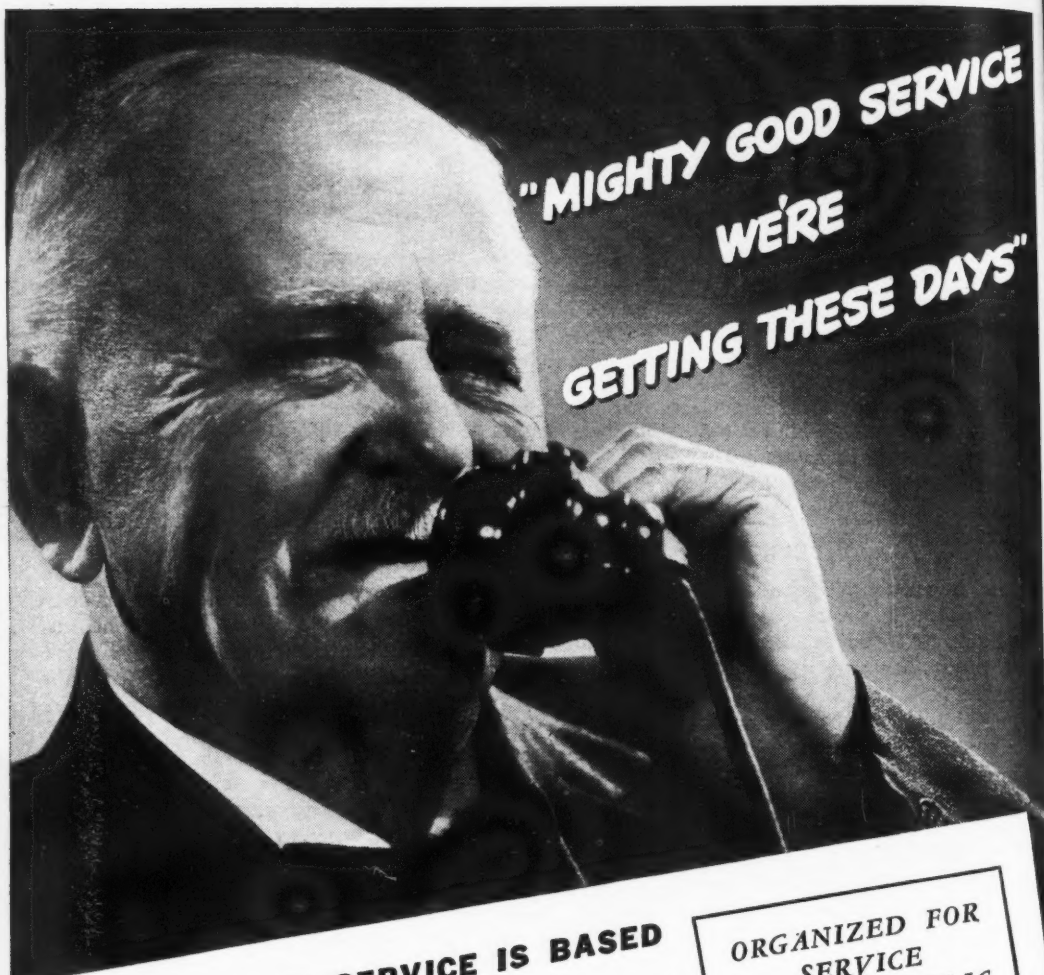
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Court Compromise

IT IS now more than five months since President Roosevelt launched his program for reorganizing the Supreme Court. Considering the emergency that was supposed to exist and the dire things that were supposed to happen if immediate steps were not taken to correct it, someone miscalculated. In spite of the protracted discussion and consequent delay, the country has managed to get along reasonably well. As a matter of fact, the New Deal is in far better standing as far as the Supreme Court is concerned than it ever was, or than its alarmist proponents thought it ever would be.

The original bill for reorganizing the Supreme Court was presented February 5. It caught both Congress and the country by complete surprise. Not even those occupying high and intimate positions suspected that such a move was in prospect. But for the President's great personal prestige, it would have been dismissed as a weird flight of political fancy. With the President sponsoring it, however, the majority of Democrats felt obliged to join hands and set up an instant chorus of approval, though the majority was not so overwhelming as had been hoped or expected. In fact, by combining with Republicans, Democratic dissenters were able to muster sufficient strength to block the proceedings.

The Senate Judiciary Committee opened hearings on March 10. These hearings lasted for a month or so and were partici-

pated in by scores of prominent citizens, some of whom spoke for themselves and some for powerful groups or organizations. The result was unfavorable. On May 18 the Committee voted not to recommend the bill by 10-8. Administration supporters replied with a shout of "No compromise," but with each successive counting of noses, the shout became less and less vehement. The Committee Report was filed with the Senate June 14, and its reception was such as to leave



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little doubt that the President's bill had been put to death.

On July 2 came the compromise which Administration spokesmen had declared would never be offered. It came in the form of an amendment to the original bill, the amendment being prepared by Senator Hatch and others and presented to the Senate by Majority Leader Robinson. In his presentation speech, Senator Robinson not only challenged opponents to try filibustering if they dared, but threatened to keep the Senate in continuous session until a vote had been taken. He finally agreed to an early adjournment, however, so that Senatorial baseball fans could attend the "All-Star" game.

Amending the Bill

The section of the proposed amendment dealing specifically with the Supreme Court reads as follows:

Sec. 215. The Supreme Court of the United States shall consist of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices, any six of whom shall constitute a quorum: Provided, however, the number of justices may be increased by the appointment of an additional justice

in the manner now provided for the appointment of justices, for each justice, including the Chief Justice, who at the time of the nomination has reached the age of 75 years, but not more than one appointment of an additional justice as herein authorized shall be made in any calendar year: Provided, that the authority to appoint for any calendar year shall not lapse by reason of the rejection of the nomination, delay in confirmation, inability to nominate during an adjournment of the Senate or withdrawal of the nomination in a succeeding calendar year; and when such additional justice or justices have been so appointed, no vacancy caused by the death, resignation, or retirement of a justice (except the Chief Justice) who has reached the age of 75 years, shall be filled, unless the filling of such vacancy is necessary to maintain at not less than nine the number of justices who have not reached the age of 75. The number of appointments so made shall not, at any time, increase the total number of justices by more than two-thirds of the permanent membership of the court. If the number of members of the Supreme Court is in excess of nine not less than two-thirds of the membership shall constitute a quorum. As used in this section, the term 'Justice' shall not include a justice who has retired from regular, active service.

There are two essential differences between this amendment and the original idea. First, the age limit, which implies senility on the part of Supreme Court justices, has been raised from seventy and a half to seventy-five years; and second, the President's power to appoint additional justices for those who fail to retire on reaching that limit has been reduced to one a year. When all has been said and done, however, age still remains the excuse for granting the President power to enlarge or reorganize the Supreme Court. If age is of such importance, why not meet the problem it presents in a straightforward manner and provide for the retirement of justices in the same way that it is provided for generals, admirals, etc. Proponents of the Court reform bill say that it is doubtful whether Congress has the power to provide for the compulsory retirement of Supreme Court justices without a constitutional amendment and that, as at the beginning, they feel conditions are too pressing to warrant the delay which submission of a constitutional amend-

ment would involve. Such an argument sounds logical enough, but there is another reason for opposition to compulsory retirement by those seeking Court reform. It might be provided in such a way that no room would be left for appointing additional justices to enlarge or reorganize the Court, and that seems to be the real objective. Since the introduction of the original bill, however, the Supreme Court has shown a much more favorable attitude, upholding one New Deal measure after another and disproving, to some extent at least, the charge that it was determined to block social progress at any cost. Besides, Justice Van Devanter has resigned, making it possible

for the President to appoint a justice of his own choosing and thus overcome that bugaboo of an alleged 4-5 adverse majority.

Still it is argued that some kind of a Court revision bill must be enacted to safeguard the Administration's prestige. Doubting or indifferent Democrats are being importuned to come to the aid of the Party for the Party's own sake, if for no better reason. The debate appears to hinge on partisanship or personalities, more than merit. But Democratic defection still persists to such an extent as leaves the issue in doubt, though at this writing supporters of the Court reorganization bill would seem to have a slight advantage in the Senate.

Quieter on the Labor Front

JUNE was a month of noise and commotion along the labor front, especially in the valleys of steel. The C.I.O. forced four independent steel companies to close down temporarily; Governor Murphy of Michigan sent troops to Monroe for a day or two, Governor Earle of Pennsylvania gave Johnstown a brief taste of martial law, Governor Townsend of Indiana refused to send troops to East Chicago, and Governor Davey of Ohio mobilized the National Guard; the C.I.O. sued to prevent the use of troops to help non-strikers in Ohio; Republic Steel sued postal authorities over the non-delivery of mail to its besieged workers, and the National Labor Relations Board charged the Ford Motor Company with violating the Wagner Act.

Outstanding among labor events in June was the strike called by the Committee for Industrial Organization on May 26 against four independent steel companies. This strike became so alarming in its implications that President Roosevelt appointed a special board to mediate on June 17. The board was headed by Charles P. Taft 2nd, a Republican, and included Lloyd K. Garrison, Dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School and Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor. After a week's futile effort, the board threw up its hands.

The C.I.O. leaders were willing to confer, but representatives of the steel companies were not, the latter claiming that they were not compelled to sign contracts under the Wagner Act and declaring that they would not sign contracts with the C.I.O. under any circumstances. With negotiations brought to a halt by this impasse, the steel companies decided to reopen their plants, asserting that the majority of their men wanted to go back to work and that nothing stood in the way of resumption of operations save adequate protection by State authorities.

By July 8, all four steel companies were back in operation, one by virtue of a rather innocuous agreement with the C.I.O., the other three without any agreement whatsoever. On the same day, A.F. of L. President Green declared: "It now becomes certain that the steel strikes at Chicago, Cleveland, Johnstown, Youngstown, Canton and other cities are lost. That means that the Committee for Industrial Organization failed to meet its major test successfully."

Philip Murray, head of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, replied by saying that the steel strike had not been lost and that the C.I.O. was in a stronger position than ever. This represented the consensus of official C.I.O. opinion.

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St. Louis Post-Dispatch

DEATH NEVER TAKES A HOLIDAY

C.I.O.-A.F. of L. Rift

Thus the quarrel between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. widens. This quarrel has a profound bearing on the struggle to restore industrial peace. Its effect on labor is bound to be demoralizing, while its effect on public opinion is unfavorable.

The question of craft *vs.* industrial unionism is now overshadowed by the question of whether labor shall invoke its political power to mold public policy in general, or confine its efforts to improved working conditions; whether it shall mobilize *en masse* for political purposes or cling to the idea of protecting its membership along trade and group lines. There can be no doubt that mass industry calls for more exhaustive organization on the part of employees, and that some such movement as the C.I.O. represents was inevitable. At the same time there can be no doubt, as Mr. Green declares, that this movement has been pushed too hard, and that it is now suffering from the effects of an overly ambitious campaign.

Too many unauthorized or outlaw strikes are occurring within the C.I.O. province. Too many local leaders are defying authority. Too many factions are showing an irresponsible, if not a radical attitude toward

law and order. Those in charge of the movement have found it necessary to remove leaders and organizers who fail to observe contracts or live up to instructions. This is as it should be. But even a greater degree of discipline must be enforced if the movement is to command public confidence.

No Bargaining

President Roosevelt put the quietus on a favorite dream of certain labor leaders when he declared that the Federal Government would not bargain with its employees either collectively or individually. He made this declaration in response to a question put to him at the Press Conference of July 9. The President said that Federal employees were free to join any union that might appeal to them, but that they must not expect the Government to recognize it as a bargaining agency or tolerate strikes.

Critics of the Roosevelt Administration were quick to point out what they called an inconsistency between his stand toward public employees and the stand he was forcing other people to take toward private employees. This, of course, is a bit of political sophistry. A government must of necessity exercise rights and claim privileges different from those of citizens or groups of citizens. Sovereign power is quite beyond those relationships which it permits or ordains for those who dwell under it. The United States cannot be sued, for instance, or challenged in the exercise of its authority. The United States reserves the right to punish to collect taxes, and to do many other things which a citizen or a group of citizens cannot do.

President Roosevelt's pronouncement with respect to government employees comes as an inevitable phase of the labor program which he and his associates are trying to formulate.

Outlook Brighter

Those who looked for the Wagner Labor Act to bring about immediate peace are somewhat disappointed, while those who believed it would not be illogically pleased. Like most important reform measures, the

Wagner Act suffers from defects and loopholes. Even its most enthusiastic supporters admit the desirability of amendments. In this connection, it is well to remember that most important laws have suffered from the same thing and have had to be gradually perfected. Notwithstanding all the troubles and disturbances that have plagued industry during the last few months, conditions are obviously getting better. At no time during the month of June was one percent

of our 26,000,000 workers on strike. This simple fact explains why business is not only able to carry on as usual, but to show distinct improvement in certain lines. If clashes on the labor front have resulted in 25 or 30 fatalities during the last month, the pleasure or convenience of driving automobiles has resulted in 100 times as many. Let us keep our sense of proportion and not permit pessimism to exaggerate the meaning of incidents.

Will the Ledger Show Black?

THE Federal Government closed accounts on June 30 with a deficit of more than \$2,750,000 and a debt of more than \$36,000,000,000. The debt represents an all-time peak by a wide margin. The deficit is somewhat greater than was expected. Though revenues exceeded those of the preceding year by \$1,178,000,000, they still fell short of meeting expenditures by a staggering amount. They were \$70,000,000 more than had been estimated, but expenditures were \$220,000,000 more.

In addition to the \$36,000,000,000 debt, the Federal Government has certain contingent liabilities in guarantees as to principal and interest on outstanding obligations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Home Owners Loan Corporation, amounting in all to \$4,725,000. These liabilities are offset by assets in the form of loans or investments amounting to nearly four billion dollars.

Director of the Budget Daniel W. Bell predicts that the Government will come close to a balanced budget next year if revenues hold up and Congress does not place unexpected burdens on the Treasury. Previous estimates had placed the deficit for next year at about four hundred million.

Neither the debt nor the deficit represents an alarming condition. The Government of the United States still has a tremendous reserve of cash and credit. For one thing, there is that tremendous gold horde in Kentucky, the largest ever assembled by any

nation. For another, there is the simple fact that no matter how oppressive they may be, our taxes are still lighter than those prevailing in many countries. At the same time, the Government cannot go on forever accumulating deficits and increasing debt. Neither can it go on forever in the pursuit of policies which encourage, if they do not force States, counties, and cities to accumulate deficits and increase debts.

That President Roosevelt and his advisers realize this is indicated by a growing tendency to economize. On June 23, the Presi-



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dent sent a letter to the heads of all departments in which he expressed a desire that they cut such expenditures as could properly be cut by 10 per cent during the next fiscal year. He hoped that such a cut would

result in the saving of \$400,000,000. Since this is the amount of the predicted deficit for 1938, it is only fair to conclude that the President hopes to balance the budget by such a saving.

Sparks from the Spanish Powder Keg

EUROPE continues to play with fire in Spain and to shiver as it plays. Jealousy, distrust, and conflicting aims combine to make anything like a coherent, or constructive policy impossible. From the very beginning of her fratricidal war, Spain has been used as a testing ground by the so-called great powers—a testing ground for war engines and diplomatic stunts. While pretending to cooperate for peace, they have maneuvered to get an advantage over each other. While working outwardly to isolate the area of strife, they have secretly connived to abet and aggravate it.

Regardless of all the pacts and patrols, Italy and Germany have shown consistent sympathy for the Spanish rebels, while Russia has shown equally consistent, but far less effective sympathy for the loyalists. However sincere France and England may have been in striving to maintain a neutral attitude, they have been so generally out-bluffed and out-maneuvered as to find them-

selves in a false position more than once.

Alleged neutrality and non-intervention have helped more to keep the war alive and increase the danger of its spreading than to promote an early end of hostilities or insure peace. While battleships, cruisers, destroyers and submarines have sailed grandly back and forth along the Spanish coast, foreign soldiers, foreign planes, and foreign shells have aided materially in the shedding of Spanish blood. The world could hardly lose if this strange admixture of high pretensions and double-dealing were to blow up, as now seems imminent.

Meanwhile, one year of continuous and increasingly bitter conflict has brought little to Spain, save the destruction of life and property. Neither rebels nor loyalists have won anything like a decisive victory, or made such progress as to forecast decisive victory. Protagonists of each side go on shouting "atrocities" at the other, but there would seem to be little choice when it comes to the ruthless treatment of non-combatants, or reprisals. Spain merely confirms the old-time theory that of all wars, civil war is the cruelest.

Nothing Conclusive

Bilbao fell on June 18. By comparison with other recent incidents, this was a major success for the rebels. It gave them control of a little more of the northern Spanish coast, as well as of a great seaport. Of equal significance, the Valencia Government did little to help or relieve Bilbao in its defense. Whether such an attitude represents weakness, or division, is a much debated question. There was lack of such cooperation as one would expect under the circumstances.

Four days after the fall of Bilbao, Eng-



Glasgow Record

JUDGING BY MUSSOLINI'S LATEST PRESS TIRADE, HE IS EAGER TO HAVE REVENGE ON SOMEBODY FOR SOMETHING.

land and France refused to join Germany in a demonstration against loyalist coast cities in retaliation for a submarine attack on the German cruiser *Deutschland*. The next day Italy withdrew from the non-intervention patrol, and the loyalists accused Italy and Germany of maintaining a submarine blockade.

With Germany and Italy out, England and France offered to maintain the non-intervention by themselves, but only to be informed that such a proposition was unacceptable. Italy and Germany then proposed to rejoin the non-intervention with the understanding that the rebels would be granted belligerent rights, but France and England would not accept, and that was where the matter stood on June 11, with France threatening to reopen her border if the non-intervention patrol were not re-established.

To offset all these unfavorable incidents,

the loyalists launched a fierce drive from Madrid on the ninth, precipitating one of the bloodiest battles of the war and claiming to have penetrated the rebel lines. Madrid was thus brought back into the spotlight, where it has been for many months, except for temporary diversions, and where it promises to remain until the end. The rebels can not win without taking Madrid, nor can the loyalists win without restoring dependable communications with it.

As things now stand, the rebels control a trifle more of Spain than they did in May, while the loyalists control a trifle less; the Basques have been defeated at Bilbao, and the Catalonians remain lukewarm toward the loyalist Government. Pitched battles and air raids lend drama to the sorry spectacle, while outside intrigue and diplomatic maneuvering create unwholesome suspense, but nothing conclusive has occurred, or is in sight.

Dividing Palestine

THE British Government, admitting the "irreconcilability" of Arab and Zionist aspirations and declaring the "unworkable" character of the present mandate, has approved a plan, proposed by the Palestine Royal Commission, for a three-fold partition of Palestine. The major recommendation of the Commission is that the existing mandate should be terminated and that there should be substituted for it two treaties with independent sovereign Arab and Jewish States, covering roughly two-thirds and one-third of Palestine respectively; and the issue of a new permanent mandate to Great Britain for the government of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, with a corridor to the sea from Jerusalem, and a temporary mandate continuing British administration in Haifa, Acre, and Tiberias. The policy of the Balfour Declaration would not apply to this mandated area.

Very briefly, the report (which is 404 pages long) reviews the history of the mandate and reaches the conclusion that the

present situation cannot longer endure. Under the stress of the World War the British Government made promises to Arabs and Jews in order to obtain their support. On the strength of those promises both parties formed certain expectations. Obligations to Jews and Arabs, under the mandate, have not proved mutually compatible, despite the improved material prosperity which Jewish immigration has brought to Palestine as a whole. Nor does the future promise any better result.

Two national communities within one small country have developed an irrepressible conflict. Their national aspirations are incompatible. The Arabs desire to revive the traditions of the Arab golden age. The Jews desire to show what they can achieve when restored to the land in which the Jewish nation was born. Neither ideal permits of combination in the service of a single state. The Government of Palestine, which is at present an unsuitable form for governing Arabs and democratic Jews, cannot develop into a system of self-government as it



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

THREE MEN ON A CAMEL.

has elsewhere, because there is no such system which could insure justice both to Jews and Arabs. Unrepresentative government, unable to dispel the conflicting grievances of the two dissatisfied and irresponsible communities it governs, can maintain peace under the mandate only by repression. Repression will not solve the problem. Its expense also curtails services directed to "the well-being and development" of the population. The continuance of the present system means the gradual alienation of two peoples who are traditionally the friends of Britain. The problem cannot be solved by giving either the Arabs or the Jews all they want. Neither race can fairly rule all Palestine, but each race might justly rule part of it. Partition offers a chance of ultimate peace, which no other plan does.

The two treaties proposed by the Commission would be negotiated by the mandatory with the Government of Trans-Jordan and representatives of the Arabs of Palestine on the one hand, and with the Zionist Organization on the other. This would be in accordance with the precedent set in Iraq and Syria. A new mandate "keeping the sanctity of Jerusalem and Bethlehem inviolate and

insuring free and safe access to them for all the world" is proposed as "a sacred trust of civilization. . . . An enclave should be demarcated extending from a point north of Jerusalem to a point south of Bethlehem, and access to the sea should be provided by a corridor extending to the north of the main road and to the south of the railway, including the towns of Lydda and Ramle, and terminating at Jaffa."

The frontier between the proposed Arab and Jewish states is suggested. Starting from Ras an Naqura, it follows the existing northern and eastern frontier of Palestine to Lake Tiberias and crosses the lake to the outflow of the Jordan, whence it continues down the river to a point a little north of Beisan. It then cuts across the Beisan Plain and runs along the southern edge of the Valley of Jezreel and across the Plain of Esdraelon to a point near Megiddo, whence it crosses the Carmel ridge in the neighborhood of the Megiddo road. Having thus reached the maritime plain, the line runs southwards down its eastern edge, curving west to avoid Tulkarm, until it reaches the Jerusalem-Jaffa corridor near Lydda. South of the corridor it continues down the edge of the plain to a point about ten miles south of Rehovot, when it turns west to the sea. This autonomous Jewish state, mostly in the plains along the seacoast, will include only one quarter of the present area of Palestine, and one-half of its populated area, in contrast to the present Jewish National Home, which extends from Lebanon to Egypt, but it will give the Jews by far the most productive parts of the country and will include virtually the entire area of present Jewish colonization.

Transition

There will naturally be a transition period during which the minorities in the Jewish and Arab states can choose their future homes. At least 225,000 Arabs now live in the Jewish area and will have to be moved with the help of British funds and a grant from the Jewish State. The civil services throughout Palestine will have to be reor-

ganized. Purchase of land by Jews in Arab territory, and vice versa, would be prohibited. Immigration would be restricted to 8,000 for the next eight months. Efforts will be made to place the external trade of Palestine on a fairer basis. A vigorous effort should be made to increase the number of Arab schools. "Mixed schools" in the "Mandate of Holy Places" would be administered by Britain. Arab and Jewish

representatives should be added to the Advisory council.

In effect the new states will be protectorates of Great Britain, and will therefore be safe from attack by a foreign power. Each new state may create its own army. Each will be allied with Britain on the lines of the recent Anglo-Egyptian agreement. Britain will retain control of the seacoast by means of her naval base at Haifa.

Far Eastern Frictions

THE question of peace or war in the Far East depends upon the intentions of Japan. Soviet Russia is satisfied with the status quo; China is still busy mending her own fences.

Much interest, therefore, has attached to Prince Konoye's new Japanese Government, which succeeded the Hayashi Cabinet in mid-June. The Prime Minister has set his heart on a government of "national unification," in which the divergent aims of the political parties, the Army, and the Navy are to be harmoniously blended. Once a radical, Prince Konoye now opposes doctrinaire panaceas and experimentation; his conception of social justice is strongly colored by nationalism; he leans towards state control of industry and political centralization rather than the forms of economic and political liberalism. To date, his most striking compromise solution of the dilemma in which he finds himself is in the field of finance: military appropriations must not exceed the nation's resources, but at the same time production is to be stepped up by state subsidies so that these resources will be increased.

"Incidents"

In the field of foreign policy the Konoye Government has already encountered two "incidents." The first occurred on the Soviet-Manchukuoan border. The source of the dispute was the sovereignty over two small, sandy islands in the Amur River. The Japanese claimed that these had been

occupied by Soviet troops on June 19; the Russians alleged that the Japanese had seized the islands the next day. The Russians maintained that, according to a map attached to a treaty with China in 1860, the islands were theirs; the Japanese asserted that the proper boundary followed the middle of the main channel, which would allot the islands to Manchukuo.

The situation boiled up fiercely again on June 29 and 30, when Soviet gunboats were sunk in a battle with the Japanese; each side accused the other of firing the first shots, and Moscow announced a national defense loan of \$800,000,000. However, negotiations in Moscow brought an agreement for the mutual withdrawal of troops and gunboats and the evacuation of the islands, sovereignty over which was to be determined by a proposed border commission.

The next week Japanese troops engaged in another clash on the continent, this time with the Chinese outside Peiping. Once again the matter was temporarily settled by a local truce providing for the mutual withdrawal of troops and the adjudication of claims, but conflict soon flared again.

Both incidents suggest that the Far Eastern powers do not yet want war and are still jockeying for position. But the growing pressure inside Japan, the supposed weakness of the Soviet Army, purged of eight generals, and the growing strength of China's forces leave the Orient in a state of uneasy tension lest Japan should decide that now is an advantageous time to strike.

Pan-American Trade Conflicts

*The United States finds old rivals,
and some new ones, in South America*

By THE EDITORS

THE Inter-American Peace Conference more often called the Buenos Aires Conference focused the attention of the nation on our neighbors to the South. More specifically, the Conference inspired a great deal of soul searching and self criticism on the part of those Americans who were shocked at the rudeness of the South Americans in refusing to take our little benevolent pills of peace and economic planning.

Most important among the facts unearthed in this self-examination concerned Uncle Sam's South American pocketbook. The mighty dollar diplomacy so sleek and fat in 1920 had apparently thinned to a skeleton. A market that once absorbed over \$600,000,000 in American products in 1920 had dwindled to where American salesmen had to scurry and run to sell a bare \$175,000,000 in heavy goods and consumer goods. Obviously this is an intolerable situation to American business men. For even the least aggressive among them consider South America, in an economic sense, Uncle Sam's own back yard. If in the past South America absorbed quantities of surplus American manufacture the continent, in turn, sold a good portion of its crops in the American market. Coffee from Brazil is an American staple, with hides from the Argentine; and in addition ferromanganese, chromite ore, tungsten, antimony, mica, tin, mercury, beauxite, lead and amorphous graphite from Colombia, Chile, Venezuela have become essential ingredients for our manufacture; and, of supreme importance, for our billion dollar defense machine. This

latter situation worries our strategists who envisage the day when we might have to fight desperately to maintain communication with these necessary products.

Dollar Diplomacy

Until 1929 the Pan American picture was rosy. American investments totaled some \$6,000,000,000; American products enjoyed a favored position. On the surface dollar diplomacy maintained with ease the quick victory won in the South American markets immediately following the World War. However, the crash of the bull market inaugurating the depression unveiled a condition beneath the happy exterior which stank to heaven. Latin America was a wreck. The evacuation of "dollar diplomacy" left in its wake receiverships, embittered hatred of United States, revolution and war. In America duped investors in South American securities began slowly to comprehend the mechanics of the colossal skin game that had parted them from their money. It was a simple game for the tricksters. American money poured into South American securities had purchased American products for countries far oversold beyond their ability to pay by petty dictators whose only legitimate business was graft. It was the circular insanity of the war loans applied on a smaller though more profitable scale by respectable American banking houses who lied in their teeth when they assured themselves and their investors that South American development was limitless.

From 1929 to 1933 South American prod-

ucts deflated in the American market; and as a consequence new tariff barriers and exchange reprisals loosened the ties of Pan American amity. To make matters worse American business men incapable of learning from their foreign competitors, squabbled among themselves for the rapidly shrinking South American business. Where British companies acted in concert, American companies under-cut each other's prices with ruinous results.

That in brief was the situation in 1933. South American salvage was a thing of the past; it was time for a new start predicated on new conceptions. The Roosevelt Administration supplied the "good neighbor policy" which has gone a long way to salve the political raws rubbed into the South American continent by the old "dollar diplomacy." And Secretary Hull began a series of intelligent moves toward reciprocal understandings in foreign trade. What results both policy and action are having, and will have in the future can already be delineated. From \$114,000,000 export total in 1933 the figure rose to \$175,000,000 in 1935 and to over \$200,000,000 in 1936. Imports from South America followed a similar trend from \$200,000,000 in 1933 to approximately \$300,000,000 in 1936.

New Monroe Doctrine

Of course this is an unfavorable trade balance; and it will probably remain an unfavorable balance until the Pan American plan, or as it has been called the "New Monroe Doctrine," is properly oiled and manned. And in regard to this the Conference at Buenos Aires despite the rebuff of a rigid embargo plan in the event of a European war, went a long way toward oiling the wheels and selecting the proper crew. Without fanfare Secretary Hull prepared the minds of the conferees for a concrete plan to dissipate tariff barriers and to establish the principle of equal treatment of all nations in international trade. As a corol-

lary the way was paved for a possible conference of Ministers of Finance and central banking governors to attempt monetary stabilization and the lifting of exchange controls.

And if these dealings have been primarily with Argentina it is a fact that as far as international trade is concerned the Argentine total amounts to more than all the rest of South America, excluding Brazil. Trade negotiations with South America are strongly influenced by whatever bargains the United States makes with the Argentine. And until recently these negotiations have come together from opposite directions and have embodied alien trade doctrines. From Secretary of State Hull comes the principle of equal opportunity in international trade following a process of multilateral agreements. While Argentina conducts its trade on a strictly bilateral basis, employing a variety of tariffs and exchange controls to this end, Great Britain, an aged practitioner of this art, maintains a most-favored customer position with Germany, at the present moment, seriously threatening America's hold on second place. However Mr. Hull has managed, with the assistance of normal economic recovery to work America into a better bargaining position. Of greatest help in effecting this improved condition has been the alleviation of the cause for Argentina's adoption of trade controls—the deflated prices of agricultural products and raw materials.

Brazilian Agreement

Next to Argentina comes Brazil the source of our coffee supply, which item constitutes about 85% of our imports. With Brazil the United States already has established a working agreement that is proving a satisfactory and lucrative one to both parties. In the agreement the United States is pledged to maintain coffee on the free list; while duties are increased on Brazil nuts, castor beans and manganese ore. In return Brazil

accords advantages on imports of American automobiles and accessories, and on various machinery, fresh fruits, and oatmeal. Moreover, Mr. Hull effectively squelched demands that the State Department exact preferential treatment from Brazil for American creditors. In the agreement is a provision for the liquidation of frozen American funds on an equitable basis, through an amount of foreign exchange determined by an adjusted average of the United States imports from Brazil over the preceding ten years.

What has resulted from this specific agreement with Brazil is revealed in the 10.7% increase in exports to that country in the six months in 1936 following the negotiations. Over the same period United States imports from Brazil increased 4%.

This seems a picayune beginning; and yet the underlying philosophy it reveals cannot be overestimated. Today the United States is aggressively concerned about its South American neighbors; and the nexus of this concern is cooperation for mutual benefit. After the years of dollar diplomacy this is a happy approach to a problem which is ineluctably bound up with the future of the United States. If left uncomplicated by foreign ambition the two continents in close proximity might thrive in economic health. But there are other powers in Europe and in the Far East already infiltrating the South American countries, each year making more difficult the completion of any clear-cut understanding so necessary to economic reciprocity.

European Angle

Whenever American statesmen or business men begin to indulge in roseate dreams concerning the potentialities of trade with Latin America, they inevitably encounter one permanent snag. That is, the tie that crosses the South Atlantic and joins South America with Europe. It is a cultural, a political, and an economic link; but, even if

the purely economic is but one aspect, the other two—the cultural and the political—have their effects upon the trade picture.

It must be remembered that there was a fundamental difference between the original settlement of North and of South America. The voyagers on the *Mayflower* set out to conquer a New World so that they might leave the Old World behind as no more than a memory. The *Conquistadores*, on the other hand, thought of their New World chiefly as a suitable terrain for the extension of the glories of the Old. The tradition has died hard, and, despite the outcroppings of movements towards a more indigenous form of nationalism, the ruling classes have remained overwhelmingly Spanish and French in their traditions and pay homage to France and Spain as their cultural ancestors.

Not unnaturally, this allegiance has translated itself into the political sphere. It is roughly analogous to the relationship between Canada and Great Britain. The League of Nations has played its part as a force consolidating that relationship between South America and Europe and placing it upon a more formal footing, whatever may be the present status of the Geneva ideal. For example, the sensitiveness of South American states to the adoption of new Pan-American obligations at Buenos Aires which might conflict with their League commitments was significant. This may have been a matter of sheer self-interest or of an idealistic devotion to the maintenance of world peace. It makes little difference; the fact remains that the League provided a reason which they could offer for their refusal to turn their backs upon Europe.

Economic Link

In the economic sphere, we find a more concrete bond with the Old World, a bond which applies to other European nations more strongly than to Spain and France.

Two instances illustrate the strength of this economic link. The first dates from the Ottawa Conference in 1931, at which the nations of the British Commonwealth met for the purpose of forming, as compactly as possible, a British economic empire. Seldom before had sentiment, as such, been as favorable to the conception of a closely knit British economic bloc. Yet the English were more than diffident about granting the Dominions what they most wanted—a preference for their foodstuffs, particularly wheat, in the British market; and yet this condition was virtually essential to the achievement of the Conference's purpose. Eventually, the preference was given, but with qualifications which rendered it meaningless. The reason for this was simply that England was not willing to cut herself off from the plentiful and cheap supplies provided by the Argentine. The cynics even suggested that, in the interests of the success of the Conference, the Union Jack should be hoisted over Argentina.

War-Time Supplies

The second illustration was afforded by the recent Buenos Aires conference. One of the main proposals before the meeting was the imposition of a continental neutral embargo on trade with belligerents in Europe. But the South American delegates were quick to turn thumbs down on the proposition. Their cultural and political affiliations with the Old World no doubt bore upon their decision not to pinch off war-time supplies. But a far more pressing factor was not only their dependence upon trade with Europe, which the threat of an embargo would inevitably divert, but also the glittering prospects of war-time profits which no form of neutral cooperation with the United States could replace.

Europe's economic grip upon South America has substantially relaxed since the pre-War days. The War itself left the United States in a predominant position,

which was steadily consolidated up until 1929. After the crash, however, the old European contenders for the South American market—England, France, and Germany—were back in force; to their ranks were added new rivals—the Japanese, the Italians, and the Czechoslovakians.

Foreign Investments

Among the individual investors, the British lead the way with an estimated minimum of six billion dollars. Of this the larger part is invested in railways, approximately two and a half billion dollars having gone to that purpose chiefly in Argentina and Brazil. This shows little increase over the pre-War figure, and later investments have been placed rather in mining and manufacturing. The intimacy of commercial relations between the two individual nations, Great Britain and Argentina, is measured by the British investment in the latter country of over two billion dollars; other European investments total some three and a half billions.

From these investments spring South America's reliance upon Europe as a market and her unwillingness to jeopardize the possession of that market. As far as exports are concerned, Argentina is the key South American nation; her sales abroad are as great as the total of those of the other South American nations. And more than 55 per cent of the Argentine exports are destined for Europe. Similarly Chile and Peru send more than 50 per cent of their exports to Europe, Uruguay sends 60 per cent, Bolivia nearly 90 per cent; Brazil, with a lower proportion, sends approximately 40 per cent of her exports to Europe.

Barter Agreements

One final factor, which must be taken into account in any consideration of the European position in the South American market, is that of centralized or competitive

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selling. South America's complicated tariff systems, exchange controls, and clearing agreements have all tended to work in favor of European nations, particularly Germany, with highly centralized export agencies and a desire to enter into bilateral barter agreements. As mentioned elsewhere, this not only runs directly counter to the Hull multilateral trade policy, but it also places at a disadvantage American exporters who compete between themselves as well as with other nations selling in the South American market.

Fascist Virus

However, the export agency is only one aspect of the race to capture the South American market by the European nations. Fascism in Italy and Germany demonstrates again and again the advantages of a totalitarian government. And to the "fascist" and to many other outsiders fascism is a blessed gift to be given freely, even imposed upon other nations. Already the South American republics have been subtly inoculated with fascist virus. Technicians, teachers, military missions have been dispatched from Berlin and from Rome to South America at no expense to those countries availing themselves of the opportunity to learn more at close hand concerning the blessings of fascism. Recently official Italy sent missions to a dozen South American republics to consolidate Italian trade gains; and in addition established substantial cash prizes for the best literary work coming out of South America each year. It goes without saying that such literary work will not include any searching criticism of its sponsors.

Nor has Germany been less busy. Colombia has already shown a desire to experiment with the German barter system which has been so disillusioning to many a middle European country. In exchange for German manufactured goods Colombia will ship

coffee, platinum and oil to the German markets.

In Brazil Germany has been successful in displacing the United States as customer No. 1. And as a further indication of Germany's purpose, Gustave Schlotterer of that Government approached the Brazilian Foreign Trade Board with a plan that would enable Germany to begin, at once, to pile up huge reserves of Brazilian raw materials against the coming war. Also there is evidence indicating a determined attempt on the part of Germany to gain control of the output of the Brazilian iron ore mines. And it is the realization of some such a scheme by a European power that disturbs the American State Department. It is felt there is a real danger that the smaller South American countries, with but limited resources, will ultimately be forced to give outright concessions to European powers when the day of reckoning comes.

Dangerous Situation

Thus are the natural advantages of the United States in relation to the South American markets being whittled away. Although in the long run proximity will generate persistent influences toward closer ties with the United States, at present it is relegated to a secondary position in the face of a determined European drive. And considered superficially it would seem that the United States has ignored all preventive action. In itself the arms embargo carries forebodings of Latin-American relations with Europe and the United States. Obviously it will encourage the South American countries to look to Europe for the arms and munitions formerly supplied in the United States. Associating this with the fact that all the anti-democratic ideologies in Europe are desperately in need of raw materials found in the South American countries the combination of needs presents a dangerous situation.

BEHIND BRITAIN'S BOOM

*Castles for cockneys and sky-rocket shares
change the face—and spirit—of England*

By FRANK C. HANIGHEN

FEW now refer to "British recovery." The days when British business slowly crept out of the depths of the depression have been forgotten in the present dazzling economic conditions. The only word for it is the Americanism, "boom." Indeed, the British boom is in many of its characteristics an "American" boom. It is also an armament boom, a financial boom, and, perhaps more than is suspected, a building boom. It has brought manifold benefits—and evils—in its wake and is by way of transforming the countenance of Britain. In fact, as a result of the boom, old England isn't England any more.

How it all started is an old story which requires only brief review. First, Britain went off the gold standard and, with British goods made cheaper in terms of dollars, francs, etc., the export trade improved. Next, Parliament raised tariffs around the depressed industry of the country, and British manufacturers were able to sell more in the home market. Then there took place that astonishing bit of financial legerdemain called "conversion," by which the British Government reduced the interest of the enormous war loan from 5 per cent to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and made the bondholders like it. This move, besides helping to balance the budget, forced investors to desert consols, which gave them but $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, for industrials, which brought 6 per cent or better. In short conversion pumped money into industry and started recovery. Finally, the extraordinary building boom acted like new blood in the convalescent economic body.

Among all these factors, the building boom has undoubtedly played the most important part, and a picture of it brings out vividly the outstanding features of the British revival.

The sensational nature of the British rearmament boom has obscured considerably the importance of the building boom. The British Government's expenditure on armaments in 1935-6 has been estimated at about \$800,000,000. Yet in 1930, the last year in which an estimate of the gross value of the output of building and contracting trades was made, the figures ran to approximately one billion dollars. Since the building industry has practically doubled since that date, a figure of two billions does not seem excessive. Compare this to the billion and a half dollars of defense estimates for the coming year, and you can perceive that the building industry has assumed a bigger rôle than the armament industry (important as the latter has been) in the British boom. No wonder then that John Maynard Keynes pairs building with conversion as the two most important factors in British recovery. *The Economist*, a very cautious periodical, says flatly, "There can be little doubt that the building industry was the backbone of British recovery, especially in its early stages."

Cheap money constitutes one of two principal reasons for this building boom. Neville Chamberlain, by discouraging loans abroad in 1932, kept British money within the United Kingdom. An important part of this money flowed into the "Building Societies" (like our "building and loan asso-



FASHIONS IN HOUSING: This modernly-designed exhibition hall is only one of many new constructions which are rapidly changing the face of London. Appropriately, one of its first exhibitions was devoted to modern homes, the tremendous scope of which has been a factor in the British economic boom.

ciations"), and big financiers like Sir Josiah Stamp have participated heavily in them. These societies have given Britons a chance to buy houses on time, an advantage which hitherto they had enjoyed only to a limited extent. The second reason has been the comparative cheapness of building costs. While building costs in the United States have remained close to the high of the twenties, in Britain the index of building costs in 1935 stood at 83.6 as against a high of 94 in 1928. Rationalization in the production of building materials, increased efficiency in a British industry which had remained backward for years, plus keen competition (at least in its early stages) between firms, accounts for much of this. Also, unemployment had been high among building workers for years, labor organizations in these trades had been weak, and in general wages were low. The situation shows some signs of an advance in costs as monopolies in building materials have developed in the past few years, with in-

evitable price-fixing and trade agreements.

Hence, as a result of easy credit and low costs, the British building business for the first time in history has tapped the vast lower middle-class market. Only the more prosperous half, it is true, but this plus the wealthier income groups forms an extensive buying public.

Castles for Cockneys

The cockney finds himself for the first time able to possess the traditional Briton's castle, including the ground on which it rests. The latter point is important because almost all houses in the past have been sold on leased ground. The ground rent trusts fattened in Britain just as they have in some parts of the United States. Offers to sell "freehold" houses and lots, therefore, have been a novel sales-point to the average Briton.

And sales-points—exploited by truly American high-pressure methods—have been exactly the means by which the build-

ing boom has been put across to the British buying public. Being Britons, the house-buyers have been particularly susceptible to the "snob appeal." Slick building salesmen have played on the illusions of petty clerks by suggesting that they give their modest new homes titles like "The Wight, Glendell Park, Croydon"—a tripartite address hitherto reserved for squires and "gentlemen." Lots in one estate addition, near Fort Belvedere, the home of the former Prince of Wales, found ready purchasers after promises that the owners could see the Prince drive into London—"past your very door." One enterprising salesman, so the story goes, disposed of a block of villas overlooking Windsor Castle on the plea that the occupants could watch the King walking in his garden. Many estate developments have arisen on historic manor places. In one such case, an ancient palace was razed with the exception of one wing which was retained as a community center. Sir Arthur de Cros' home at Bognor, where King George V recuperated during his long illness in 1928-9, was sold as an estate development, and Sir Arthur liked the game so much that he has become one of the big operators in the business.

As an example of how sales are made, take the case of John Jones, a clerk employed in the City of London. He has been living in a dismal flat in the middle of the murky metropolis, with no central heating, antique plumbing, no garden, his curtains assailed by smoke from surrounding factories. Accordingly, he finds the following advertisement irresistible: "Manor Homes—a new estate development at Woodmere Manor—away from the bustle yet surrounded by the comforts of town life—only 25 minutes from the West End—commutation ticket 1/1 daily—radio, garden, tiled bathroom, parquet floors—what do you want to call your villa, Mr. Purchaser?—why not Glevenstoke House, Floral Villas, Woodmere, Hants?—easy terms down

and only 11/7 weekly." On inquiry he finds that the purchase price of £465 (about \$2300) is the lowest in the market. He has no such sum, of course, but 11 shillings and 7 pence (about \$3) weekly does not seem much compared with his salary, which is 3 pounds, 10 shillings (about \$17.50). Also the down payment amounts to only £5 or \$25.

After brief negotiations, Mr. Jones becomes the master of one of a line of multiple houses (most of the new houses are multiple, although recently bungalows have come into fashion). It has two floors (the second really an attic), a "servant's bedroom" (where Mr. Jones' mother-in-law sleeps), a little space in front for a few potted plants (most of the houses are built close to the sidewalk), and a long "garden" in the rear where the children wield cricket bats and Mrs. Jones hangs out-tea towels.

High-pressure or not, houses like these have brought fresh air, green grass, and comfortable living accommodations to millions of people like John Jones, who formerly could not afford them. And all as a result of the building boom. Between November 1918 and September 1935 about 3,000,000 homes were built in Britain, and almost half of this number were completed during the five-year period ending 1935. (Approximately 80 per cent of these houses were built by private enterprise, without Government subsidy.) Undeniably, then, the British building boom by the exertions of private business has given a healthier, richer existence to a large section of the British people.

Where Is the Catch?

But as Americans who have watched the often fatal results of American high-pressure sales methods would suspect, there unfortunately exists in many cases another side to this picture. When Mr. Jones took that house in Woodmere Manor, he thought he was going to pay only \$2300 for it and

that \$3 weekly would be the only burden on his purse. He did not calculate that it would take about 20 years to pay for the establishment and with a rather stiff system of interest and principal amortization he would pay nearer \$3400 for it. Besides, as a flat renter he did not reckon on "rates" (municipal taxes) which are usually quite as heavy as in many of the more expensive areas of the United States. Like many of his American counterparts, Mr. Jones also discovered that improvements—pavement, gas, light, water—must be paid for. The hire-purchase trust, in addition, took a nice slice of his income for the radio and furniture. (Buying furniture, radios, and automobiles on time has become a feature of the boom; hire-purchase, it is estimated, covers from 70 per cent to 80 per cent of all radios and autos.) After Mr. Jones pays for his commutation ticket, he finds that the house and all that it incurs takes about \$10 out of his \$17.50 weekly salary. The remainder does not go far towards buying food, clothing, and paying for other necessities. In short, much the same kind of situation as faced Americans of the pre-1929 era who skimmed on necessities to buy Fords.

Nor is that all. If he has been unlucky enough to strike a house erected by a dishonest contractor, he finds that the plaster cracks, the roof leaks, the concrete steps chip off and crumble, and other repairs appear. "Jerry building" and the "building ramp" have become familiar terms in Britain in recent years. Mr. R. Coppock, Secretary of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives, says: "Speculative building has become such a definite menace that it can no longer be tolerated. Unscrupulous building speculators have swarmed in thousands, taking advantage of the housing shortage to run up worthless homes and foist them on unsuspecting victims. Thousands of houses are being sold every week, that have not a chance of lasting as long as the poor buyer's installment

payments." The editor of the building page of one of London's Sunday papers showed me a row of multiple villas in a new estate and described how the occupants had fared with their purchases. Out of ten of these householders, two had defaulted on interest payments and the houses had been resold. Three others had found payments and repairs too onerous and had moved into the upper stories, renting the ground floors.

There are other evils. Planning of these suburbs has in many cases been carried out even more recklessly than in the case of some of our subdivision rackets. Driving out of London to Hendon one day with a British friend, I stopped in the midst of a new estate for a traffic light. A stench—as unmistakable as the odor of privies in a Mid-western farm—filled the atmosphere. I asked if a sewer pipe had broken. "Not at all," replied my friend, "this whole estate has been built over an old sewer deposit." Ribbon development is another abuse. By ribbon development, the British mean building a line of houses for miles along the arterial roads, leaving the hinterland vacant and increasing the costs of water, gas, light, and school service, not to mention endangering the lives of children on the road. Finally, the building boom has been used as a political football. On the eve of the 1935 general election, for instance, conservative elements tried to damage Labor's chances at the polls by charging that a Labor victory would mean confiscation of new private houses.

Under such circumstances, how long will the building boom last? At present, house-building has apparently declined slightly, but other forms of construction—factories, schools, hotels, etc.—have risen and taken up the slack. This decline, however, may be only temporary as former declines have been offset by spectacular recoveries. But even if building slumps badly, the general boom will continue, the City believes, for armaments will take the place of houses.

Enter Armaments

Indeed, the armament boom, building's closest competitor, has already taken a very important place in the recovery process. While government expenditures on armaments rose from £103.5 millions in 1932-3 to £158.2 millions in 1936-7, these figures by no means tell the story. Ever since the advent of Hitler and the revival of the world armament race, British industry has participated heavily in the thriving international munitions business. Exact statistics are lacking to prove this, but all responsible authorities in the City concede the point. The unprecedented production records of the steel, engineering, and aviation industries have derived their momentum in large part from the munitions business. Munitions factories have appeared mushroom-wise in various parts of the island, and Britain has been treated to the strange spectacle of Socialist borough councilors clamoring for the establishment of munitions factories in their districts.

But the armament boom has displayed its most striking effects in the field of finance. Shares of armament and particularly aviation firms have touched fabulous highs, and munitions millionaires have been created almost overnight. The financial editor of the *London Daily Herald* on February 21, 1936, estimated that £500 invested in five munitions and aviation stocks would have made their owners a profit of £4,600 or approximately 900 per cent in one year.

With such frenzied speculation, the British bull market has been characterized by features which recall the strenuous days in the United States just before the Wall Street crash of 1929. Just as the building boom spawned the "building ramp," so has the stock market boom produced equally undesirable characteristics. A dispatch to the *New York Post* on December 5, 1935, reveals some facts which may surprise those who assume that British financing necessarily follows sound and conservative lines.

According to this dispatch, a total of £6,461,082 in aircraft securities were floated on the market. Of this sum, almost half or £3,120,753 went into profit to promoters or stock exchange firms. An extremely small proportion of money in some of these issues was used to pay for actual construction. In one case a firm spent only £32,247 on plant while flotation expenses of the loan amounted to £135,000. Other questionable practices such as "introductions" (similar to our "private lists") have appeared, and pools and corners have reared their ugly heads (witness the crash of the pepper market when the Howeson pepper corner failed in 1935).

Indeed, this change in British financial morality has had repercussions which suggest that British governmental purity is but a whited sepulchre. The Howeson scandal touched members of Parliament, and at least one cabinet resignation followed. The budget-leak scandal which caused the resignation of Minister J. H. Thomas revealed the connections between government and shady finance, and according to some reports the Thomas affair was played up in order to stifle investigation into far greater scandals. As for municipal corruption, Clough Williams-Ellis writing in *The Nineteenth Century*, by no means a muckraking journal, estimated that it may amount to about £45,000,000 annually.

Exit Free Trade

But if the shade of John Bright should return to the new England of today, it would be less horrified at the corruption than at a much more significant change. For, a hundred years ago, in the time of that great exponent of Free Trade, British manufacturers were more interested in selling their products to foreign countries than to the British Isles. Today, their outlook has been reversed. The sun which formerly never set on the investments and markets of the British Empire, now tends to describe

an orbit confined to Land's End and the Clyde. Statistics for 1936 show an unfavorable balance of trade—a large excess of imports over exports—and a lagging in the export trade, while the general trade advanced. This means two things: (1) that the increased imports were raw materials used in the domestic market and armament manufacture; and (2) that British exporters were losing foreign markets which had taken a century to build up. No wonder then that this year's meeting of the Big Five bank directors deplored the fact that, to quote *The Economist*, "export business was being turned away by manufacturers confident in their uninterrupted enjoyment of the protected home market and of cheap money."

This constitutes an almost revolutionary change, and as might be expected has had an effect, almost equally revolutionary, on British foreign policy. During the Ethiopian imbroglio, one of the great newspaper proprietors opposed the sanctions policy on the ground that it would lead Britain into war and upset business. His papers, formerly of a strongly imperialistic nature, had little to say about preserving the Empire and the route to India. This gentleman, it was reported, had invested heavily in the building materials trade, which presumably would suffer from war and rumors of war. This attitude provides, in part, an explanation of the surprising extent to which the Baldwin and Chamberlain Governments have gone in swallowing humiliations from the Germans and Italians and in sacrificing policies which in the past have been keystones of

the Empire. Indeed, the elements in the Government which have wanted an aggressive defense of the Empire have been overshadowed by those which will make great sacrifices to preserve what they call "prosperity" at home.

Profits and Losses

In fact, to sum up on the British boom, the gains of "recovery" and "boom" must be extended in order to merit the term "prosperity." For while the boom has undoubtedly made Britain a happier, wealthier country, parts of the country's economy remain in the stagnant conditions of the twenties. The Depressed Areas—the Tyne, the Clyde, and South Wales—protrude like boils on the otherwise thriving skin. Sir John Orr's impressive charges last year, that almost half the population of Britain suffers from under-nourishment, have yet to be answered. There must be less high-pressure salesmanship in the American manner and more progress towards lower building costs to bring houses within reach of the pocket-books of the poorer classes. Profits have soared as a result of old-time Wall Street methods but wages have advanced but little. The domestic boom rests on foundations insecure enough to justify the business leaders who want to retain Britain's foreign trade, at least as a measure to alleviate a possible slump. In short, the British if they wish to prolong the boom, on the one hand must give heed to the export business, and on the other must distribute its benefits more widely—and soundly—over the economic landscape.

SENATOR WHEELER'S PLIGHT

*The dilemma of one of the many liberals
who opposed the court reform proposals*

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

THE miner was rugged and slightly stooped. A scar ran along one side of his face. His bare forearm bore a tattooed U. S. eagle. He wore soiled jumpers and carried a lunch-pail off which most of the paint had been nicked. He was still spattered with dust from "The Richest Hill on Earth"—the copper peak of Butte, Montana—and he waited on the corner in front of the M & M cigar store for a lumbering old, orange-colored street car to take him home. He was engaged in earnest conversation with a fellow worker in the mines, who also waited carfare in hand.

"No, by gosh," loudly declared the miner with the scar, "I wouldn't vote for Wheeler for dog-catcher. He's sold out labor and gone over to the A.C.M. I'm through with him for good, and I've voted for him every time."

The other miner's reply was lost in the clatter of the approaching trolley, but he nodded in ostensible agreement.

Eight months ago in Montana it would have been a task of epic proportions to find a miner who was not a confirmed adherent of the State's senior United States Senator, Burton Kendall Wheeler. It would have been still more difficult to discover a miner willing to believe that Wheeler had become an ally of Montana's dominant corporative interest, the Anaconda Copper Mines.

One circumstance is responsible for this startling metamorphosis: Wheeler's leadership of the Senate opposition to the Roosevelt Supreme Court reform plan. More than any other adversary of the Court

scheme, Wheeler risks his political career each day that he attacks it. The preponderant majority of what has heretofore constituted his main support seems to be vigorously behind the President on the judiciary issue.

The soul of the dominant public figure of the Rocky Mountain region must have been tried the February morning that he received this communication:

Hon. Burton K. Wheeler,
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Wheeler:

At its regular meeting February 16th last the Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council went on record as favoring the proposal of President Franklin D. Roosevelt for revision of the United States Supreme Court and other Federal courts.

The opinion of the Council seemed to be that the present Supreme Court is composed mostly of former corporation lawyers, who naturally are not in sympathy with legislation that would be for the benefit of the common people. Also that Congress is almost helpless to pass legislation for the benefit of the people while the present Supreme Court remains unchanged.

The Council instructed me to inform you of its action in this matter.

Yours very truly,

Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council,
by Thomas Kennedy, secretary.

Since 1922, working people have been the principal operators of the political machine that has kept Wheeler in the Senate. Even before that—as long ago, in fact, as



BETWEEN TWO FIRES: Senator Burton Wheeler finds that he has alienated the support of his liberal following but is still "too radical" for the conservative bloc.

1910—he was elected to the State legislature with the votes of laborers and their families. For more than a quarter of a century he has been in politics as a partisan of labor and the underprivileged. The Supreme Court question presented the first potentially serious split between himself and the bulk of his constituents. Yet he thus concluded his reply to the Silver Bow County Labor Council:

You don't agree with me now, but you will some time in the future.

I regret exceedingly to disagree with those that I fought with, but I would sooner resign from the Senate of the United States than to vote for this proposition which I know is wrong, and which I know every liberal will regret if it should become an accomplished fact.

Today, Burton K. Wheeler, the senior Senator from a State that is the third largest in area but the 39th in population, is in the anomalous position of having won the greatest admiration for his marshaling of the opposition to the Roosevelt judiciary

bill from people who do not intend to vote for him.

I sat across the desk from the slightly corpulent managing editor of a conservative Montana newspaper. "I tell you," he said, pointing at the wall with a paper cutter, "Wheeler has gained immeasurably in stature by taking the lead against that damnable Court plan. He's shown himself to be a truly big and great-souled statesman."

"Let me ask you one question," I interrupted. "Will you vote for Wheeler when he comes up for reelection?"

"No," the newspaperman replied. "He's too darn radical."

This conversation is fairly symbolic of the political situation in the far-flung wilderness State that has been represented so long nationally by the economic and social philosophy of Wheeler and his late friend, Thomas J. Walsh. The persons in Montana enthusiastic over the senior Senator's vigorous attacks on the Roosevelt judicial reform legislation are persons who cannot be classified as Wheeler adherents.

It is different on the other side of the Bonanza State's political arena. The voters aroused to anger and indignation because Wheeler has been largely responsible for the bogging down of the President's judiciary legislation are voters who otherwise would be militant Wheeler followers. A ragged fellow selling the *Daily Worker* near an A.C.M. shaft said he had distributed Wheeler's literature in 1934. "But I'd roast in hell before I'd do it again," he cried vehemently.

President Roosevelt epitomizes to the voters the cause of the underprivileged. The workers in the A.C.M. shafts gave Roosevelt more than a 4-to-1 majority in Silver Bow County last year. His margin in the whole State was nearly 3 to 1. Copper is up around 14 and 14½ cents and Montana is booming again. Butte is wide open; faro games and roulette wheels entice men in from the main streets. Girls have packed

the cribs along "Venus Alley." Prices are high, and the men in the mines are earning \$5.75 a day. A recent Department of Labor survey showed wages to be higher in Butte than in either Denver or Portland. This prosperity and bustle and hilarity are attributed by the workers to Roosevelt and his policies. Their present bitterness against Senator Wheeler emanates largely from the fact that they believe the President has helped them personally. They are interested from the same perspective as an angular brakeman on the Northern Pacific, who remarked:

"The doggone Supreme Court threw out the railway pension act. The President tried to get it through. I've voted for Wheeler since he first got into politics, but when he starts defending the Court that killed my pension—that's the end."

Not long ago Senator Wheeler returned to Montana for a brief visit. A rally arranged for him at Great Falls flopped dismally. His old labor supporters did not come, and neither did the admirers of his position on the Court issue.

Relatively few people ever thought they would see Burton K. Wheeler on shaky political ground in his home State. He is a tradition in Montana. Persons talk about what he wears and what he likes to eat. The Grand Hotel is a Butte landmark because the senior Senator owns it. A ranch near Missoula achieved fame when it became known that Wheeler occasionally stopped there for bacon and egg breakfasts. During the War the U. S. Attorney's office in Montana was occupied by Wheeler, and he ran squarely into the belligerents by refusing to prosecute members of the I.W.W. and other social nonconformists. The bitterest and most vituperative gubernatorial campaign in the history of the country's principal copper State took place in 1920, when Wheeler was the candidate of the forces opposing the Anaconda company. He was defeated, but the publicity attendant on the

election enabled him to go to the Senate two years later. Opposing the A.C.M. in Montana is tantamount to challenging the du Ponts in Delaware or the steel companies in Pennsylvania. Yet Burton K. Wheeler has done it year after year and still kept his place in public life.

Now, for the first time since he ran with the elder La Follette for the Vice Presidency in 1924, Wheeler is in political danger. Because he has condemned not only the Supreme Court plan but also the Department of the Interior in general and the Indian Affairs office in particular, Wheeler will be flattened out under whatever weight the supporters of the New Deal can load on the Montana patronage juggernaut. By 1940 the effective leadership provided by Wheeler for the anti-Roosevelt faction may be forgotten, but not if young Congressman Jerry O'Connell has anything to say about it. O'Connell is considered the heir apparent to Wheeler's seat. He is for the Spanish loyalists, increasing the number of the Supreme Court Justices, and bigger relief appropriations. He is also a supporter of the C.I.O. and recently inserted in the *Congressional Record* a report of the Chicago riot and killings antagonistic to the Windy City police department. O'Connell would oppose Wheeler from the left—the first time in the latter's political history. Whether he runs against Wheeler, of course, will depend largely upon the future of the New Deal, and whether it dwindles out or survives as a political force.

The 1940 Senatorial election in Montana will provide an accurate test of the carry over of the antagonisms, prejudices, hysteria, and enthusiasms of the politics underlying President Roosevelt's celebrated Supreme Court reform plan. Then will the nemesis of Harry Daugherty and the running mate of "Battling Bob" La Follette sink into political oblivion because the men mining "The Richest Hill on Earth" think he has turned conservative?

HOW DANGEROUS IS JAPAN?

*A pacific people is goaded by the Army,
whose bluff can scarcely risk a showdown*

By MARC T. GREENE

AMERICANS know less about the Japanese temperament than they do about Japanese politics, and that is next to nothing at all. They understand Japanese character as well as they do Japanese psychology, and that is absolute zero.

Literature on Japan, past and current, has been voluminous enough. But its very quantity has been confusing. But the American concludes, the journalistic trend of thought of the moment being in that direction, that Japan is probably an economic if not a political menace to the rest of the world.

It is mostly guesswork with him at that. However much confidence he may have in his favorite daily newspaper and its foreign service, he knows that authoritarianism is strong enough in Japan to be able to erect, as in Italy and Germany, an impassable barrier between the position as it really is and the world's understanding of it. So the American is all at sea in trying to size up the situation in Japan. And he is equally off soundings in his endeavor to understand the Japanese people.

And yet it is so simple, after all. For here are millions of people, desperately overcrowding a country the size of the British Isles and only a sixth of which is really arable, all trying to sustain their existence. The pathos lies in the fact that they are satisfied with so little. Go about the country, in the villages, even into the poorer parts of the large cities, and mark the measure of contentment that prevails.

Are these millions of peasantry, these city industrial workers who are laboring at the

highest kind of high pressure for little more than the subsistence minimum that Japan may expand her foreign trade and thus build up an enduring economic structure, are they all to go on securing even that little? Or are they to be crushed entirely by the burden of an enormous military establishment almost certain to force the country into a foreign war?

That is the main issue for Japan and it was never more clearly defined than at this moment. It is inseparably associated with the political issue, which is one of authoritarianism or democracy. By the way the two are decided Japan will stand or fall, be a menace to the world or a friend.

The world, especially America, is apt to conclude that the whole Japanese attitude toward the rest of the world is a definitely aggressive one, that the whole country is in the grip of the militaristic obsession, that Japan is swayed from end to end by the "will-to-power," and is therefore dangerous.

Nothing could be farther from the facts. And if it were a question, or even in any considerable degree a question, of the will of the Japanese people *en masse* there would be little for the world to apprehend. What more convincing proof of that is necessary than the May election, when the two parties representing not only the hopes and wishes of the common people, but also the views of the middle class and the demands of the great industrialists, swamped the militaristic Hayashi Government? Yet on the day following this decisive result the Army itself, throwing all its cards face up on the

table, prepared this statement and caused the War Minister to submit it to Premier Hayashi:

Resignation by the Government at the present time would nullify the effect of the effort to have the political parties engage in self-examination embodied in the dissolution of the Lower House. It is up to the Government to watch the Parties for a while to ascertain whether or not they have gained the proper conception of the situation.

The naive precocity of this would be laughable if the potentialities of such an attitude were not so deadly. The two popular political parties have overwhelmed the Government at the polls, but that is a mere childlike gesture of defiance sure to be regretted as soon as those parties, having engaged in "self-examination" under the Army's watchful eye, have "gained the proper conception of the situation," that is to say, realized the unpatriotic enormity of what they have done in opposing the Army's will. After that other measures will be in order, and unless the people resist them the last vestiges of democracy will indeed have disappeared from Japan, and she will have become a menace to peace.

We have seen that the Japanese masses have no aggressive intent toward other peoples. It is not, of course, easy to develop such an intent in a race so largely illiterate, but every possible effort is being made by the Army-backed régime to do so. In this the radio, found today in many of the humblest Japanese homes, is playing the most prominent part. The leading newspapers, such as the well-known *Asahi*, are opposing the blatant attitude of the Government in flouting the public will so far as they dare, which is not very far.

But for every one of these leaders twenty small town sheets are disseminating Army propaganda. The smaller the town and the less literate the readers, the more preposterous is the character of this sort of printed

propaganda. The people are told that if only they will back the army and "defend Japanese nationalism against the foreigners who would destroy it," Japan will some day attain to the "complete dominance of the Pacific," and compel a "reverent respect" from all the world. After which the economic position will be so greatly improved that every farmer will at least be sure of tomorrow's handful of rice.

Only one in ten or less among the peasants can read this, but he can spread it. The radio, which all can understand, supplements and emphasizes the press propaganda, and there are few sections of Japan too remote to be reached by it.

There is no doubt whatever that the studied and thoroughly-organized Government propaganda is having its effect even upon the naturally well-disposed Japanese masses. Moreover, anyone who is unresponsive to it runs a strong chance of trouble, and perhaps of personal danger. The Government has its spies everywhere. Numberless arrests occur weekly for "dissemination of dangerous thoughts."

And yet the May election strikingly declared the slow progress the military régime is making in its endeavor to convert the Japanese people to an aggressive and militant imperialism. The fact is that the Japanese are simply not constituted that way. They are, on the contrary, temperamentally friendly, kind-hearted, anxious to please all foreigners.

You hear plenty of stories about commercial sharp practice and various deceptive recourses but they relate only to the industrialists, whose argument is that Japan's position is desperate and to remedy it any and all means are justifiable.

Said the leading Osaka newspaper *Mainichi* the other day:

When other nations tell us our standard of living is now, we do not like it. . . . As a rising nation, pioneering its own way through handicap and hard-

ship we are ready to make greater sacrifices than those who are enjoying already the fruits of past struggles. . . . If other nations are afraid to compete with Japan's low production cost, they are simply advised not to irritate our sore spot. Every barrier erected against our exports will make us preserve our teeth-gritting spirit of pioneers that much longer. It is not Japan, but her foreign competitors who are keeping the labor cost in Japan so low. Give us a chance to speed up our transformation from an empire-builder to an empire-preserver. That will mean the basic solution of the so-called world economic problem concerning Japan.

This very succinctly sets forth the Japanese point of view in the matter of cheap production. Note the words "empire-preserver." This cheap production, "dumping" if you prefer to call it that, must go on and in increasing measure in order to preserve the empire. And so, although it is frankly acknowledged that the low wage-scale and resultant low living-standards constitute a "sore spot," yet the only way that spot can ever be healed is to keep up this pace and go on enduring these sacrifices until the economic position has been made secure.

It is typical of present Japanese economic policy, but do not condemn it as typical of Japanese character generally. If you get among the people at all you will encounter a friendly and well-disposed folk, desiring the world's good will.

And that is, in the main, the Japanese temperament. Chief among the exceptions are those of the military profession, the leaders, though by no means the rank and file, either of Army or Navy. I talked one day with the head waiter in a prominent hotel restaurant. He had been on Japanese European liners and spoke English. But lately he had completed a term of army service. Having gained his confidence a little, I asked, "How did you like the Army? And how did your comrades like it?"

Then he surprised me. Glancing quickly about, he took one of the menus and wrote on it lightly in pencil this curious sentence, "Our — is not in it." Where I have drawn a line he had roughly shaped a tiny heart. "Our heart is not in it." Characteristically Japanese.

And there you have it. Of course their hearts are not in it. Nine out of every ten Japanese desire peace, amity with other nations, and an end to the increasingly rigid militaristic régime. Some of that nine tenths, like the large merchant class and the great industrialists whose prosperity depends on foreign trade, even the powerful banking and shipping interests like Mitsui and Mitsubishi, would have peace because an enduring peace and that alone can mean prosperity for Japan. But the average Japanese is friendly by temperament, and I challenge anyone who knows Japan to establish the contrary.

The other exceptions to the general tendency toward non-aggression and anti-militarism are various elements of the younger Japanese, a large part of the student class, idle pleasure-seeking sons of the rich, a few of the aristocracy, and the relatively small group of sincere believers in the political principle of authoritarianism.

The "young Japanese group," as it likes to call itself, is the counterpart of the young Fascists and Blackshirts in Italy and the young Nazis in Germany. If you, as a foreign tourist, have any unpleasant experiences in Japan, it is practically certain to be from this group. Indeed, it can hardly be from anybody else. But it is the fashion among Japanese students to sneer at the foreigner and at all things foreign. But never do the Japanese people as a whole the injustice of concluding that it is symbolic of the general attitude to the rest of the world.

That attitude, however, has little chance of declaring itself as things are at present

and less of influencing the official, which is the military, position. In civil differences in any country the side having the military with it generally wins. In Japan one side is the military, with a certain following. The other side is the people represented in the Seiyukai and Minseito Parties, with able leaders tied of hand and gagged of mouth. In the Diet dissolved just before the recent election these were unable to make any stand against the passage of a budget which devoted more than half its total to the fighting services, or for the very necessary revision of the election laws and more than 40 other measures having to do with the economic and social welfare of the people. All of them were passed by because disregarded by the Army and Navy. Ignored likewise was the protest by the people's representatives against the crushing and ever-increasing burden of taxation while the largest budget in the nation's history was forced through by Army-Navy threats and bullying. That means the total debt will reach the enormous sum of 11,000,000,000 yen (\$3,500,000,000) next year, having increased more than 735,000,000 yen within twelve months.

It is clear that only a rapid expansion of foreign trade will sustain such a burden. And when the business and commercial leaders of Japan contemplate an unfavorable trade balance for the first four months of the present year of 390,000,000 yen, it makes them more than ever dissatisfied and uneasy. Such an unfavorable balance, more than double that of the same period of 1936, has the utmost significance. First, of course, it reveals the extent of Japanese foreign purchases of raw materials, chiefly for military purposes, and those mostly of steel and copper. Yet despite such purchases the steel shortage is so acute that 20,000,000 yen worth of commercial and general construction work has had to be abandoned to the demands of the military establishment

for the metal. Clearly disclosed, then, is the extent of "preparedness" plans in Japan, and their huge expense to the people.

Assuming that the militaristic party is able to carry through its program, just how dangerous will Japan become to the peace of the world? The recklessness, amounting almost to madness, of the Army and Navy in their insistence on a more aggressive foreign policy, and their precocious confidence in their ability to "bluff" the world on the basis of past successes, both lend to the threat its dangerous character. Between this and the economic menace there is little or no association, and the latter can be met effectively by a number of means, while the former can be countered only by similar "bluff," which, failing, inevitably means force.

Such being the nature of the Japanese threat, just what is behind it? Just how great is the power to enforce the "bluff" if "called"?

Four fundamental causes detract from that power, and eliminate Japan as a real danger, at least more than temporary, to the peace of the world. They are, in order of significance, as follows:

(1) The ominous financial position and economic weakness due to an unfavorable trade balance, heavy debt burden, and excessive taxation.

(2) The destruction of foreign trade consequent upon a large-scale war.

(3) The physical condition of the Japanese workers and peasantry, who would have to be drawn upon heavily in the event of war with a first-class power, resulting from years of intensive labor under hard and sometimes inhuman conditions and upon a low standard of living, and their temperamental disinclination for war.

(4) The ineffectiveness of the Japanese military establishment, considered from the standpoint of a first-class power, modern equipment and European morale.

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Number one has been outlined in sufficient detail, though it would be possible to adduce much more evidence. Number two is too obvious to require comment. Number three is equally clear to anyone at all acquainted with prevailing conditions. Number four perhaps demands some elucidation.

The fact is, of course, that Japan, though her militarists are fond of claiming that she has never known defeat in war, has never encountered anything like a first-class power. It is only absurd to base any boastful claims on the conflict with Russia. It was no more a conflict with a first-class power than was the affair at Shanghai in 1931. And anyone who was there knows how little military glory that "incident" reflected upon the Japanese and how far it was from establishing any just claim to military prowess.

Whence, then, comes this notion that has gained so much ascendancy throughout the world, especially in America, that Japan is a dangerous threat to a first-class military power?

Is it because of such frenzied, perfervid, fanatic nationalism as was widely publicized through the Shanghai "human-bomb" episode, and the fear that a people who, as it appears, willingly die rather than yield are very dangerous? But there are plenty of equivalent happenings in the war annals of every people. And in any case such frenzy soon exhausts itself, both physically and psychologically.

Moreover, in air strength, more important than everything else combined in modern warfare, as we have seen proven conclusively enough lately in Spain, the Japanese are notoriously ineffective. Not for an instant could they withstand the enormous and highly efficient Soviet air force stationed at Vladivostok, to take one example, and they know that perfectly well. And even if they could hope to bring Germany

into a war with Russia on the west, how would that save Japan in the east?

War with America? Even if the militarists should embark upon so reckless an enterprise, it is more than doubtful that they could carry the country with them. The people of Japan as a whole feel more friendly to America today than in years. They want no misunderstanding with us and, so far as anything that is of the future can, in days like these, be forecast with any certainty, they will have none.

And upon what basis is founded the high regard for Japanese naval strength that keeps the Pacific side of America so apprehensive? Granted the power and the modernity of Japanese naval units on paper, what about the personnel, its fighting effectiveness and its morale? The only available standard of judgment is again the war with Russia.

There is no intent to affront the Japanese by unfair criticism of their fighting forces, but for the good of all concerned it is time this bogey of the Japanese menace was laid. The fact is that Japan in her present condition could not sustain a large-scale foreign war unaided for a month. Furthermore, the Japanese people would certainly mutiny as soon as the myth of invincibility so carefully built up by systematic propaganda were exploded by one bad defeat. As a people they do not want war. They want peace in order to carry on their industries and secure a decent standard of living and freedom from apprehension, from uncertainty of what the future holds. Only the strongest kind of assurance that war would presently bring all those things, together with an increased measure of world-prestige, could induce them to accept it. And as soon as that assurance were destroyed, as would speedily happen, there would be revolution. That may come as it is, if military despotism continues and the economic burden it involves grows heavier.

CAMERAS DON'T LIE

Suppressed newsreels of the South Chicago strike massacre pose a censorship question

By W. CARROLL MUNRO

OCCASIONALLY some signal happening focuses the attention of the nation upon the movies as a primary vehicle of information and as an instrument of mass propaganda. Of vital interest today are the newsreels and still pictures made of the clash between police and strikers at the gates of the Republic Steel Corporation in South Chicago. What value as evidence of police brutality these pictures possess is left to the decision of each reader after a study of the graphic description of the film published in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. (See p. 41.)

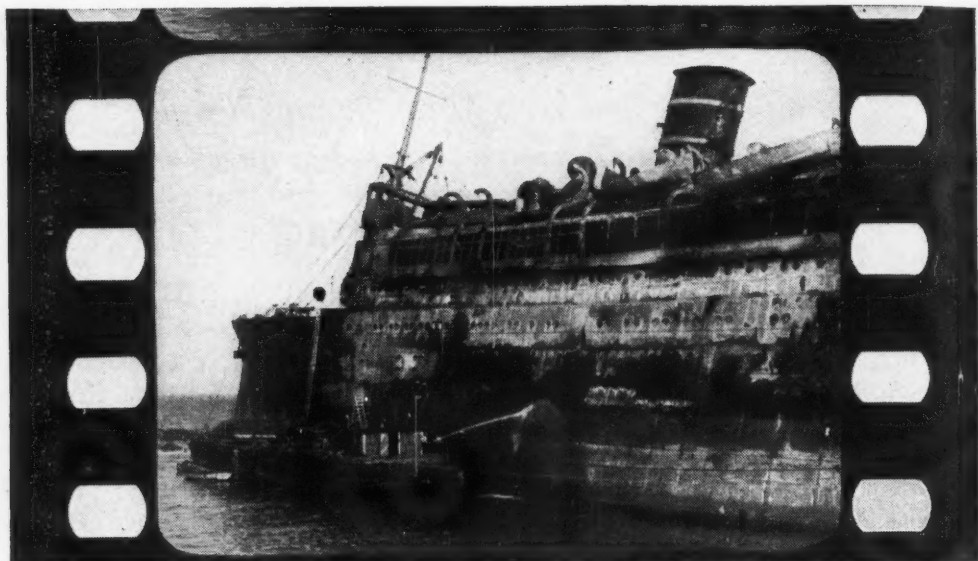
But of greater importance than the official violence upon a body of unarmed citizenry was the original decision of Paramount News to shelve the newsreel on the grounds that its showing would incite to riot. Legitimate reasons from the Paramount's standpoint are adduced in support of this decision: first, the newsreel editors act under the editorial right to withdraw pictures "not fit to be seen"; secondly, such a prerogative is analogous to the editorial right exercised by newspapers to quash news "not fit to print."

Even conceding that these excuses have a basis in fact, it is nevertheless a cynical confession from the newsreel agencies who in their self-congratulatory moments have drooled loud and often of their enslavement to those mystical gods—integrity and/or public service. In the past they have protested vehemently whenever their more flagrant vulgarity has been called to task, as, for instance, the incidents recorded by newsreel companies at the *Morro Castle* disaster. Will anyone ever forget those

grief-crazed and fearful persons who were dragged before the battery of newsreel cameras and sound microphones and prodded into mumbling incoherently of their misery. That was really news reporting in the raw. And the newsreel companies made the most of it. Yet they protested their innocence. After all, weren't they redeeming their oath to truth and public sentiment? And what were the bruised sensibilities of a few half-dead survivors when it came to serving up the proper dish of horror to newsreel fans throughout the nation?

From this incident it is obvious that a proper indictment might be drawn with ease against the newsreel companies. An indictment, but not a true bill. With justice it has been pointed out that the newsreels have served adequately in the reportorial field. And it is asserted that if they have revealed vulgar flaws, it is only because man is less than flawless.

But what are these flaws? And isn't it fair to assume that if the suppression of the strike pictures constitutes a flaw it is more deliberate than fortuitous, more cunning than innocent. As a matter of record, the newsreel film is not subjected to the censorship of the Hays office, although they are submitted before release to State boards of censors. These boards may—and have—deleted scenes on moral and political grounds, with the latter prerogative very rarely employed. Perhaps the one outstanding example of political deletion was the decision by the Kansas Board of Review to eliminate from a *March of Time* episode



Universal Newsreel Copyright 1937

NO CENSORSHIP HERE: *The Morro Castle disaster was one of the greatest newsreel "stories" of the twentieth century and no details, however gruesome, were omitted. Officials of Paramount News, however, suppressed the reel of the South Chicago strike as liable to "incite to riot."*

a speech by Senator Wheeler opposing the Supreme Court reorganization plan.

In contrast, Europe boasts a censorship that is hard and fast. England strictly edited all Coronation films and banned altogether the newsreel shots of the Duke of Windsor's wedding to Mrs. Warfield. And Italy, in retaliation to anti-Italian attacks in the British press, refused all pictures reflecting favorably upon the British Empire. Since this censorship, however, is wholly foreign and expected, it makes little impression upon the American who has not yet been disabused of the fiction of a free press and a free theatre.

Is it not strange, therefore, that the Paramount Company should find scenes of the Chicago strike too horrible for revelation to our brave citizens who have been calloused by Hollywood gangster movies, and newsreel shots of human incineration. This is a confusing situation since it involves just what effect the movies have in general, and what effect the pictures of a brutal injustice

have in particular on the masses of people. It is a fact that movies, whether purely for entertainment, or newsreels professing to report accurately the day-to-day happenings, have a profound influence on the people who pay to see them. Not even if labeled "pure fiction" can the cinema destroy what it strives so painstakingly to capture—the illusion of reality. So skillfully, so artfully, so deeply rooted in the minutiae of life, the people portrayed are so real as to seem like participants in everyday life. It is an amusing fact that movie actors try their best to look like gentlemen; and gentlemen, taking their cue, try to simulate the screen version of a gentleman. The movies, in an effort to remain intelligible to the lowest common denominator of their audience, have adopted conventionalized symbols of wealth, leisure, poverty, success, failure, passion. And this practice in itself is harmless enough and often amusing. But the movie producers have found more subtle and annoying ways to employ these

symbols as a medium of propaganda. Excluding some outstanding exceptions, the movie audience is shown the common laborer as a stupid fellow, more nearly beast than man, and at all times an object of ridicule, while the society symbol is more flattering and overlaid with a phony culture. The movie villain, of course, is a dark foreigner, and for the vilest anti-social conduct the movie people usually reserve the maligned Chinese.

Of course, this is propaganda in its most digestible form, although critics of the social order insist that in devious ways such symbolisms serve the masters right handily in preserving their balance on the necks of the jackasses who are exposed to movie influence. From China comes an interesting comment on the international aspects of movie symbolism. The *China Weekly Review*, published in Shanghai, points out: "An interesting feature of Hollywood movie production in recent years is the plethora of productions that are exceedingly complimentary to the British. Take for example, such films as *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, *Lloyds of London*, *The Bengal Lancers*, and others. For some reason or other, when ship scenes are shown, the officers usually wear the British uniform. By the same token it is to be noted that there are hardly any films that are complimentary to Germany. It seems that the Israelites who are the main financiers of Hollywood productions are in this subtle way expressing their debt of gratitude to the British for their assistance, as opposed to the Jew-baiting policy of Herr Hitler."

To the foreigner these little mass conditioners which would pass unnoticed at home, are easily distinguishable. The foreigner is accustomed to viewing national movie productions as something primarily concerned with propaganda and only secondarily concerned with entertainment. In this, Hollywood differs. Entertainment above all; anything for a laugh. Holly-

wood producers consider propaganda as an afterthought. A recent example of primary propaganda in the movies as conceived abroad came as a sequel to the showing of the picture *The Good Earth* in the Far East. The Chinese praised the movie for its graphic fidelity; the Japanese were displeased with its message. The universal appeal of the soil, the age-old struggle of man and his progeny reminded them all too poignantly of the endurance of China, of Chinese life-roots thrust so far into the bosom of the earth that to uproot them would wrinkle half the globe. To counteract the propaganda in the film, in this case simply a sympathetic portrayal of Chinese life, the Japanese imported German technicians to make a picture called the *New Earth*. The result was expected. With its primary emphasis on propaganda calculated to make the recalcitrant Japanese farmers rush to the new land in Manchukuo, the film was atrocious entertainment. In Hollywood that could not happen.

And the newsreels are more or less pasted together in the same tradition as the Hollywood product. If a film must be angled to reflect favorably on the ruling classes, the cutting occurs in the office of the editor. As a general rule the newsreel companies present the facts as the camera finds them; and it is noteworthy that the cameraman did not stop cranking in South Chicago when the police went to work on the strikers. As an employee he handled his job and turned the result over to the editors, who in this instance took it upon themselves to guard the public morals. The movie-goers wonder, however, what would have been done with the film if the action had been in reverse, if the C. I. O. pickets had slaughtered the police. Would the reel have been similarly censored or would it have been released and played up by the labor-hating press to insure the masses a well advertised opportunity to view the latest episode of "John L. Lewis and his



Universal Newsreel Copyright 1937

LIFE OF A CAMERAMAN: *The men who turn the cranks for the newsreel companies must be prepared to face all emergencies, as in this case, for example, when they had to "shoot" a strike riot. Their job is done when they turn the films over to the editors, who, in many cases, take it upon themselves to "guard the public morals."*

gang of C. I. O. murderers?" And there is little doubt that a large section of the press is deeply concerned about the Paramount strike film. Embarrassing questions would certainly annoy them, since their sturdy reporters seemed to have missed altogether the massacre the camera recorded.

Free press? Free movies? Is the suppression of truth the essence of this freedom? And in the final analysis, the suppression of the strike pictures was the suppression of the truth. Had the film shown but one woman clubbed to her knees by police batons it would have been worthy of presentation to the American people. As it was, scores were mowed down by police gunfire. And the reasons offered by the Paramount Company for the suppression of this testimony were ingenious but not convincing. Nothing can change the fact

that in a crucial struggle involving the whole American people, and in the face of false evidence scattered by a venal press anxious to distort and obscure the facts concerning the Chicago massacre, the Paramount Company withheld testimony essential to the case of labor. In this instance the goddess of truth was not raped, she was strangled. And the murder was sanctified by the belief that to acquaint the American people with the truth would be to tax their patience beyond endurance.

It is of little importance that the newsreels were belatedly released. It merely demonstrates, once again, the necessity for eternal vigilance and for the permanent tenure of such organizations as the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, which in this instance successfully defeated censorship.

PUBLIC SERVICE AND A NEWSPAPER

It was not until the St. Louis POST-DISPATCH published the following vivid word-picture of the newsreel taken of the Memorial Day Massacre in South Chicago that public sentiment began to form against suppression of the film by Paramount News:

The following description of the [Paramount] picture comes from a person who saw it several times and had a particular interest in studying it closely for detail. Its accuracy is beyond question.

The first scenes show police drawn up in a long line across a dirt road which runs diagonally through a large open field, then turns into a street which is parallel to, and some 200 yards distant from, the high fence surrounding the Republic mill. The police line extends forty or fifty yards on each side of the dirt road. Behind the line, and in the street beyond, nearer the mill, are several patrol wagons and numerous reserve squads of police.

Straggling across the field, in a long, irregular line, headed by two men carrying American flags, the demonstrators are shown approaching. Many carry placards. They appear to number about 300—approximately the same as the police—although it is known that some 2,000 strike sympathizers were watching the march from a distance.

A vivid close-up shows the head of the parade being halted at the police line. The flag-bearers are in front. Behind them the placards are massed. They bear such devices as: "Come On Out—Help Win the Strike"; "Republic vs. the People" and "C.I.O." Between the flagbearers is the marchers' spokesman, a muscular young man in shirt sleeves with a CIO button on the band of his felt hat.

He is arguing earnestly with the police officer who appears to be in command. His vigorous gestures indicate that he is insisting on permission to continue through the police line, but in the general din of yelling and talking his words cannot be distinguished. His expression is serious, but no suggestion of threat or violence is apparent. The police officer, whose back is to the camera, makes one impatient gesture of refusal, and says something which cannot be understood.

Then suddenly, without apparent warning, there is a terrific roar of pistol shots,

and men in the front ranks of the marchers go down like grass before a scythe. The camera catches approximately a dozen falling simultaneously in a heap. The massive, sustained roar of the police pistols lasts perhaps two or three seconds.

Instantly the police charge on the marchers with riot sticks flailing. At the same time tear-gas grenades are seen sailing into the mass of demonstrators, and clouds of gas rise over them. Most of the crowd is now in flight. The only discernible case of resistance is that of a marcher with a placard on a stick which he uses in an attempt to fend off a charging policeman. He is successful only for an instant. Then he goes down under a shower of blows.

The scenes which follow are among the most harrowing of the picture. Although the ground is strewn with dead and wounded, and the mass of the marchers are in precipitate flight down the dirt road and across the field, a number of individuals, either through foolish hardihood, or because they have not yet realized what grim and deadly business is in progress around them, have remained behind, caught in the midst of the charging police.

In a manner which is appallingly businesslike, groups of policemen close in on these isolated individuals and go to work on them with their clubs.

In several instances, from two to four policemen are seen beating one man. One strikes him horizontally across the face, using his club as he would wield a baseball bat. Another crashes it down on top of his head, and still another is whipping him across the back.

These men try to protect their heads with their arms, but it is only a matter of a second or two until they go down. In one such scene, directly in the foreground, a policeman gives the fallen man a final smash on the head before moving on to the next job.

In the front line during the parley with the police is a girl, not more than five feet tall, who can hardly weigh more than 100 pounds. Under one arm she is carrying a

purse and some newspapers. After the first deafening volley of shots she turns, to find that her path to flight is blocked by a heap of fallen men. She stumbles over them, apparently dazed.

The scene shifts for a moment, then she is seen going down under a quick blow from a policeman's club, delivered from behind. She gets up, and staggers around. A few moments later, she is shown being shoved into a patrol wagon, blood cascading down her face and spreading over her clothing.

Preceding this episode, however, is a scene which, for sheer horror, outdoes the rest. A husky, middle-aged, bareheaded man has found himself caught far behind the rear ranks of the fleeing marchers. Between him and others, policemen are as thick as flies, but he elects to run the gauntlet. Astonishingly agile for one of his age and build, he runs like a deer, leaping a ditch, dodging as he goes. Surprised policemen take hasty swings as he passes them. Some get him on the back, some on the back of the head, but he keeps on his feet and keeps going.

The scene is bursting with a frightful sort of drama. Will he make it? The suspense is almost intolerable to those who watch. It begins to look as if he will get through. But no! The police in front have turned around now, and are waiting for him. Still trying desperately he swings to the right. He has put his hands up, and is holding them high over his head as he runs.

It is no use. There are police on the right. He is cornered. He turns, still holding high his hands. Quickly the bluecoats close in and the night sticks fly—above his head, from the sides, from the rear. His upraised arms fall limply under the flailing blows, and he slumps to the ground in a twisting fall, as the clubs continue to rain on him.

CIO officers report that when one of the victims was delivered at an undertaking establishment, it was found that his brains literally were beaten out, his skull crushed by blows.

Ensuing scenes are hardly less poignant. A man shot through the back is paralyzed from the waist. Two policemen try to make him stand up, to get into a patrol wagon,

but when they let him go his legs crumple, and he falls with his face in the dirt, almost under the rear step of the wagon. He moves his head and arms, but his legs are limp. He raises his head like a turtle and claws the ground.

A man over whose white shirt front the blood is spreading perceptibly is dragged to the side of the road. Two or three policemen bend over and look at him closely. One of them shakes his head, and slips a newspaper under the wounded man's head. There is a plain intimation that he is dying. A man in civilian clothing comes up, feels his pulse a moment, then drops the hand, and walks away. Another, in a uniform which might be that of a company policeman, stops an instant, looks at the prostrate figure, and continues on his way.

The scene shifts to the patrol wagons in the rear. Men with bloody heads, bloody faces, bloody shirts, are being loaded in. One, who apparently has been shot in the leg, drags himself painfully into the picture with the aid of two policemen. An elderly man, bent almost double, holding one hand on the back of his head, clammers painfully up the steps and slumps onto the seat, burying his face in both hands. The shoulders of his white shirt are drenched with blood.

There is continuous talking, but it is difficult to distinguish anything with one exception—out of the babble there arises this clear and distinct ejaculation:

"God Almighty!"

The camera shifts back to the central scene. Here and there is a body sprawled in what appears to be the grotesque indifference of death. Far off toward the outer corner of the field, whence they came originally, the routed marchers are still in flight, with an irregular line of policemen in close pursuit. It is impossible to discern, at this distance, whether violence has ended.

A policeman, somewhat disheveled, his coat open, a scowl on his face, approaches another who is standing in front of the camera. He is sweaty and tired. He says something indistinguishable. Then his face breaks into a sudden grin, he makes motions of dusting off his hands and strides away. The film ends.

ARMS OVER EUROPE

*The first of a series of articles, outlining
Great Britain's standing in the war derby*

By CURT L. HEYMANN

NINETEEN years after the end of the war that was fought to end all wars, the world is closer to a new conflict than ever before. Europe has chosen to indulge in an orgy of armaments, and the world has become accustomed to think in terms of war rather than in terms of peace. With the Ethiopian conflict liquidated and the Spanish civil war raging on, the chancelleries of Europe—their good intentions taken for granted—prepare for the unavoidable. When and where the spark will explode the powder keg is the only uncertain factor in the calculation.

That is why at times, whenever international diplomacy succeeds in ironing out a dangerous situation, observers close to the march of events boast that "war is not imminent." But when I discussed the question of war or peace with a cool-headed Britisher, whose opinion on European affairs carries a good deal of weight, he avoided a preliminary argument as to the cause of a new conflict since he reckoned with such a possibility. Carrying the discussion to the next stage, that of actual warfare, he bluntly said: "The Nazi Government will not declare war before it shoots."

To him, this was the danger point of the whole situation, and to me, his statement seemed the more remarkable because it was made long before the Germans answered the attack on the *Deutschland*. Once more, Great Britain intervened. Through her ambassador to Berlin she assured the Reich that if the Germans would keep the peace they would find they had not a more sin-

cere and more useful friend in the world than Great Britain.

Germany's prompt and drastic reprisal was effected on the theory—to quote the German Air Minister Hermann Goering—that "when German blood has flowed, it can not be made good with ink." In an earlier Almeria incident British blood flowed. On May 13, the British destroyer *Hunter* was badly damaged by a mine off that Spanish port. The explosion killed eight of the crew and injured twenty-four. It took the British Government four weeks to investigate the case. When it was finally found that a mine laid by the Insurgents' patrolling vessels was to be blamed for the catastrophe, Downing Street replied—with ink!*

It is this kind of British diplomacy that, so far, has kept the Empire out of war, and, if continued successfully, may result in avoiding further impending dangers. It is a skilful diplomacy that is able to find a compromise under aggravating conditions. Yet it has also been described as "intelligent cowardice." When the mighty dreadnought *Hood* appeared last April at the three-mile limit off blockaded and besieged Bilbao, she could have easily blown to pieces the small rebel craft blockading British freighters with food cargoes. She could have done so without the slightest danger to her own strategic position. She did not—and saved the peace of Europe. Up to now, the British fleet has led the rival powers off the battlefield.

*In a dispatch from London, Augur revealed in the *New York Times* on June 18, that the bombardment of Almeria was "a mere nothing compared with the action contemplated by Hitler."



—From the Glasgow (Scotland) Record.

IT TAKES A BIT OF DOING!

But Clement Attlee, Laborite leader, deploring in the Commons "the failure of His Majesty's Government to give protection to British merchant ships on their lawful occasions," demanded a vote of censure in the face of Baldwin's plea for caution, and the Dean of Canterbury called the Prime Minister down for his "cowardly surrender." A strange paradox indeed, this line-up of Liberals and Socialists, strengthened by the clergy, for a hasty, probably war-involving decision, while otherwise nationalistic and more aggressive Conservatives barricade themselves behind less heroic but safer means of defense!

This policy of "safety first," inaugurated by Mr. Baldwin, continued by Mr. Chamberlain, and executed by Mr. Eden, is in his own words poor-spirited because "we refuse to lead Europe over a precipice." Yet one wonders if and to what extent that attitude of caution has not its real cause in the outcome of the Ethiopian war and in the developments which during that conflict played such an important, and for the British interests in the Mediterranean not at all favorable part. British statesman-

ship and prestige were at stake. They suffered a severe blow when the British Home Fleet failed to call the bluff and when there was nothing left for the British than to swallow the Italian pill. If in his forthcoming memoirs, Mr. Baldwin should recall that headache, he may some day tell us that his statement, "our frontier is on the Rhine," was somewhat premature. . . .

But the British are optimists and for good reason. Some 10,000 have been killed in Ethiopia and in Spain so far, yet England's record is clear. There are no English casualties. Englishmen could, if they wanted to, have cooled their ardor for adventure in an alien country, fought for an alien nation, and died on either side of a tangle, also alien to their own cause. They preferred not to. International conferences on armament, economic and monetary problems, which Britain tried to encourage, failed. So did sanctions, arbitration, the League of Nations, the "Locarno spirit," and the rest. The Grand Old Fleet came home and joined in the Coronation celebrations, almost unreal in a realistic world strangling in armor, and after the greatest constitutional crisis the Empire ever faced. Did the proverbial British lion realize that roaring alone was not enough to be heard unless his claws were sufficiently sharp to enforce his will for peace? He did.

Out of the ashes of a doomed war spirit arose a new phoenix: the British rearmament program. Last February, with the announcement that it would embark on its greatest and costliest program of a five-year rearmament plan, the British Government issued a White Paper, estimating an expenditure of approximately \$7,500,000,000 for the enlargement and modernization of its land, sea, and air forces. It told more than any cabinet minister was able to tell. It startled the world—and the British taxpayer. Because this program meant that Britain would spend something like \$5,000,-

000 on armaments every weekday for the next five years, that taxation despite heavy government borrowings would increase, and that the entire industrial resources of the country would be strained to the limit to turn out weapons of destruction. Yet the House received this staggering intimation without flinching. There was even an approving rumble of "Hear, hear!" when Mr. Chamberlain, in a matter-of-fact tone, served notice on the world that even the proposed expenditure might not be enough to fulfill the British Government's purpose.

In detail, this year's program, which was started with the new financial year last April, provides:

For the Navy: Three new battleships costing at least \$40,000,000 apiece, probably of 35,000 tons each, with a speed of 27 knots and main armament of 14-inch guns. Seven new cruisers, two of which will probably be of 9,000 tons and five of 5,000 tons. Two aircraft carriers, probably of 18,000 tons. The cost of naval construction this year will be more than \$250,000,000 in addition to large increases in naval personnel and extensions of dockyards and storage for ammunition, fuel and other reserves.

For the Army: Two new army tank battalions will be formed and two of four projected new infantry battalions will be raised immediately. Immense reserves of ammunition will continue to be accumulated. The Territorial Army, corresponding to the American National Guard, will be trained with the same weapons as the regular army and will be responsible for anti-aircraft defense throughout the United Kingdom. The mechanization of the army from top to bottom will be rushed at the utmost speed.

For the Air Force: More than 75 new training stations and airdromes for military purposes will be built in the United Kingdom and the Empire. The personnel of the air force, which was increased to 50,000 in

1936, will be increased still further, while the production of thousands of new planes will be pushed at top speed. In addition to first-line planes, reserves are being obtained for an adequate active service. This probably amounts to an expansion order of not less than 10,000 machines, including more than 1,200 more first-line planes.

Judging this program and the present state of British sea, land, and air forces *vis-à-vis* the other European big powers, it is seen that Great Britain is still supreme on the seas, and, with a total of 24 capital ships by 1942, will continue to be so for years to come. She is also leading the armament race in the air and is the strongest aviation power in Western Europe, if not on the Continent. Her army remains her weakest point, but it is pledged to assist France in case of a European war.

Arms have restored English prestige and there is no doubt that British rearmament plans are the outstanding peace factor on the Continent today. What a peace machinery at conference tables could not accomplish—a war machinery did.

Rearmament serves Britain a twofold purpose: she can now show her might and in so doing prevent attack; and if she has to fight she will be ready for it. Its repercussions have been felt in Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo. While the White Paper did not mention any possible enemy, it contained a statement that no foreign dictator or military chief could have overlooked, that "at present there is no justification for any reduction or slowing down of the program."

Indeed, this England represents an extraordinary spectacle: a nation displaying force without militarism. A population of which 11,000,000 peace voters of a few years ago now stand almost unanimously behind guns as a guarantee for peace. A country whose taxpayers gladly give one-fourth of their income toward military expenditures. It is a phenomenon in a world armed to the teeth.

WHAT PRICE HIGHER WAGES?

*Unless business recovery remains active,
higher prices will negate income increases*

By HERBERT M. BRATTER

IN VIEW of the strenuous opposition of businessmen and labor leaders to certain sections of the Black-Connery wages and hours bill, it was soon apparent that the original proposal would have to be modified. At this writing, however, it seems almost certain that, before adjourning, Congress will pass in its altered form a law establishing the principle that hours and wages in certain industries may be regulated. The law may set hour standards, but it cannot order industry to go below 40 hours a week, nor can it set maximum wages beyond 40 cents an hour. The principle of collective bargaining is given recognition.

If the law is to attain its main object of raising the income of workers at present "oppressed," even though the improved standards be cautiously applied, it is inevitable that industrial costs will tend to rise and that prices will tend to increase. These effects may be obscured, should the introduction of the higher labor standards coincide with an active phase of business recovery. Indeed, if demand for the products of industry is otherwise strong, no such harmful effects need be noticed.

If, on the other hand, industrial costs and prices are raised by labor-standards legislation while demand happens to be slackening, the effects will be more noticeable. Obviously any increase in the prices of things at retail will cut into the gains which this measure is designed to give to the workers. Economically, the effects of this law will depend to a considerable extent on the manner in which the proposed Labor Standards Board exercises its powers. So, especially, the measure represents an irretace-

able step. Directed toward reform rather than toward recovery, it is just one more phase of government regulation of business.

The original Black-Connery bill was very complicated. It filled 47 printed pages. Its main features were: (1) the establishment throughout the country of maximum weekly hours of labor in industry and minimum rates of pay; (2) the elimination of child labor; and (3) the prohibition of employment of strikebreakers or resort to labor espionage.

Under the recent revisions by the Senate Committee on Labor and Education, however, many classes of employment are exempted from the provisions of the bill, including the higher-paid railroad men, agricultural workers, employees of local retailers, fishermen, and professional men and executives. The child labor provisions were modified to exclude agricultural work and employment by parents. A children's bureau of the Department of Labor was to grant further exemptions in cases where it found that the employment was not injurious to a child's health or school work. And the committee discarded the clause defining strikebreaking and the employment of labor spies as "oppressive labor practices."

The original bill set up a powerful Labor Standards Board which could vary the wage and hour standards according to regions and industries. As reported back to the Senate, the bill now carefully limits the functions of the Board. Instead of the wide authority which the bill's authors had intended to give the Board, it is now confined within the area of the 40-hour week and 40-cents-an-hour-wage. It cannot set minimum

wages and maximum hours above these points. And it is forbidden to establish minimum wages in industries where such a minimum might have the effect of curtailing jobs. In setting wage limits below this level, and in fixing weekly hours, the Board is to respect such standards as may be achieved through collective bargaining between employers and employees.

This official body would seek to accomplish the bill's stated objects chiefly by closing the channels of interstate commerce to all goods produced under conditions inferior to those which the board prescribes. Even goods produced for intrastate sale alone will be restricted if they are deemed competitive with goods in interstate commerce.

In some respects, therefore, the Black-Connery measure gives the Federal Government regulatory powers much greater than it has ever before held. This grant of powers is justified as "imperative" on the grounds that, as matters stand, individual States, however desirous of establishing fair working conditions, are unable to deal with the problem of competitive goods brought in from other States which allow sweat-shop conditions or "un-American" living standards.

The motives of the bill's chief supporters are varied. Essentially, their aims, apart from political considerations, are not so much economic as social. "A better average standard of living" is today a politically wise doctrine.

There is also the viewpoint of those who feel that limiting hours of work will, by "sharing the work," relieve unemployment. Others, mostly workers, see in the "hours" provisions a means rather of increasing payroll expenditures for "overtime," or in other words a fatter pay envelope for those now employed. Most child labor features of the bill are almost unopposed.

If the reactions of the bill's supporters



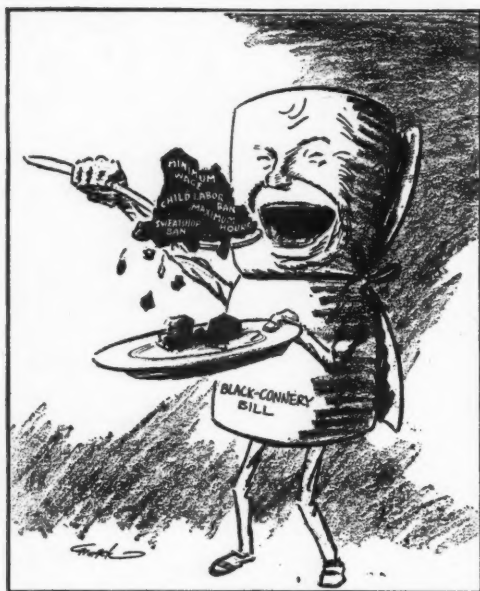
United Feature Syndicate

YOU CAN'T KEEP HER DOWN

are varied, so too are those of its critics. Most business men strongly object to another Federal body armed with broad powers to affect operating costs, examine businessmen's records, subpoena witnesses, etc. Generally they fear "more government in business," even though in numerous cases they honestly welcome and desire a law which would curb their unfair, chiseling, sweat-shop competitors. In organized labor's ranks, as well, important leaders have strenuously objected to an all-powerful board, although for different reasons than those of industrialists. Such a board, labor spokesmen feared, unless restricted at the outset, would be able to supersede collective bargaining. Moreover, there is apprehension that establishment of minimum wages may result in a general lowering of all wages, the standard minimum wage coming to be interpreted as a fair wage.

It is apparent that the Black-Connery bill, in keeping with the recommendations of a Presidential committee and in harmony with the Democratic platform of

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Christian Science Monitor

DISHING UP MORE THAN HE CAN CHEW?

1936, is an attempt to revive the labor features of the N. I. R. A. The latter was invalidated because it represented Federal encroachment on states rights. During the two years since the Schechter case decision, however, the Supreme Court—notably in the Labor Relations Act case—has been construing more liberally the interstate commerce powers of the Federal Government. The Government is confident that the bill is unquestionably constitutional.

The NRA was both a recovery and a reform measure; it embodied both labor and trade-practice provisions. Its administration was very cumbersome and complicated, permitting representation in its operation by business and organized labor, as well as the government.

Under the present bill, however, all power would rest in the official board. There will be no "code authorities." Labor and management, it is true, may present evidence; but decisions will be reached by the government alone. Thus the element of self-government of industry inherent in

the NRA is not revived. Under this bill—which unlike NRA deals only with labor—collective bargaining between management and workers may still take place, as it may now.

Detail a Handicap

A point of particular weakness in the suggested Labor Standards Board is the complex maze of administrative detail which it must face in establishing fair conditions in different regions and industries. The board is likely to be criticized for favoring one region or industry against another, and might be accused of using its powers for political ends. Even if its motives be simon-pure, its exercise of arbitrary powers might in individual cases prove disastrous, some businessmen feel.

If the alarms of the bill's more bitter critics prove unfounded and if the law in fact bears chiefly on the "chiseling fringe of industry" it will have socially desirable effects, even though at some economic cost. Elimination of child labor, whatever its cost, will certainly not be criticized. An increase in payrolls of the lower ranks of labor, if not too sudden, will prove beneficial. It is of course highly desirable from the national viewpoint not to increase costs beyond the capacity of business to support such increases.

Higher costs are most apt to be reflected promptly in higher prices, since neither the individual worker's efficiency nor technological improvement is likely to counterbalance a material increase in wages or shortening of hours in the "fringe" enterprises referred to. At present conditions of work vary widely from industry to industry, and the problem of a fair standard of labor is not susceptible of simple treatment.

The fact that the country is still in a recovery cycle is regarded by the measure's supporters as propitious for its introduction at this time. "Now is the time to con-

solidate those substantial gains so dearly won since 1932" and to obtain for labor a larger share of the product of its toil, the proponents say. One may take with a grain of salt the additional argument that higher payrolls through this law will increase man's purchasing power. All depends on whether or not the total output of industry is increased or decreased by labor legislation.

There is a definite limit to how much labor's share may be increased at the expense of capital's share, agriculture's share, etc. If prices rise, labor will tend to lose its gains. Moreover, higher prices tend to limit and reduce sales. If there is only "so much" to divide up, then the gains of the industrial workers are but the losses of the farmers, pensioners, capitalists, and all those not specifically included as beneficiaries of the bill. While it may be true that the country has been giving years of consideration to fair labor standards and that the problem has been long postponed, the fact that we are now experiencing a measure of recovery lessens the urgency of pell-mell legislation.

Twelve Million Affected

The Black-Connery bill, it was recently estimated, would affect perhaps 12,000,000 workers. Under the broadened interpretation of the interstate-commerce clause, the bill would directly embrace manufacturing, transportation, mining, and public utilities workers. Many large industries in these four groups would be exempted, however, because they are already conforming to the suggested standards. Also exempted from the bill would be agriculture, distribution, service occupations like laundries and filling stations, government employees, self-employed proprietors, and the like. Whether

small plants, including small sweatshops, escape the bill's web depends not only on the limits set by Congress but also on the administrative problems involved. Another ticklish question has been that of imported goods and American labor standards.

NRA Experience

The wage standards now proposed are similar to those of NRA. Although the procedure is to be different, the results are likely to be similar, excepting where precautions are taken. Concerning NRA, the President's special Committee on Industrial Analysis found that shortening of hours resulted in some reemployment; that the wage increase produced was "at least partly neutralized by increasing prices"; that NRA sought to cover too much ground too rapidly. "The apparently simple concept of fixing maximum hours, minimum wages and minimum price provisions developed wholly unexpected degrees of complexity."

Shortening hours, in normal times, this Committee concluded, may act to limit production instead of merely to spread work, and so may do real harm. "... A minimum wage can be socially beneficial ... But in this field code experience developed the need of well considered standards ... [especially] if minimum rates were high enough to affect a large percentage of the workers ..."

The Committee recommended that controls of the NRA type, if tried again, be limited to a few important industries, "in order that proper standards of investigation and adequate supervision may be maintained. ..." The Black-Connery bill is not so limited, and it is to be hoped that Congress will avoid the chief pitfalls pointed to by past experience.

Yugoslavia's Design for Democracy

*Liberalism, the triune kingdom finds,
is an effective brake against fascism*

By HENRY C. WOLFE

WHEN King Alexander I was assassinated in the streets of Marseilles on October 9, 1934, Yugoslavia became danger zone No. 1 of an uneasy continent. The strong hand and unifying force which had guided the course of the triune kingdom for thirteen years were suddenly stricken from the helm. Surrounded by enemy states, weakened by internal dissension, the nation of the South Slavs faced a crisis.

To friends and foes alike, Yugoslavia was a powder barrel filled to the brim. Mussolini's ambition to control the eastern shore of the Adriatic entailed a dismembered Yugoslavia. Hungary and Bulgaria, under Italian influence, nursed grievances against the Serbs and plotted to regain their Irredentist areas within the borders of the dead monarch's realm. Primitive Albania, strategically valuable ally of Italy, presented still another hostile frontier on the borders of the slain Alexander's kingdom.

Belgrade was thrown into confusion by the King's death. Would Mussolini profit by this to encourage a revolution in Croatia? Would the Government, under the Jevtitch-Zivkovitch faction, take advantage of the confusion to try to win over public opinion by attempting a foreign adventure, probably against Hungary?

These were but two potential dangers to vex an already harassed nation. The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, founded on December 1st, 1918, was not united. There was friction between the Serbs on the one hand and the Croats and Slovenes on the other. Furthermore, the

former Kingdom of Montenegro, incorporated in the new state, had been a focal point of agitation directed from Italy. Serious differences between the various tribes of the South Slav family were deeply ingrained as the result of centuries of separation. Orthodox Belgrade had long been influenced by the civilization of Constantinople, whereas Catholic Zagreb and Ljubljana had felt cultural kinship with Vienna, Budapest, and Rome. In Croatia and Slovenia, Austrian and Hungarian culture had effected a higher degree of social and economic progress than was possible in Serbia during the five centuries of Turkish oppression.

Although the Croatian and Slovenian languages are closely related to the Serbian, the Croats and Slovenes use the Latin alphabet and the Serbs use the Cyrillic. It had been King Alexander's goal to unify the various tribes of the South Slavs into one homogeneous nation. He was not discouraged by the misunderstandings and quarrels within the kingdom, and, like all Serbs, he bitterly resented outside interference with the peace of his state.

This interference took many forms. While Italian and Hungarian revisionists secretly encouraged terrorist organizations on Yugoslav soil, Bulgaria allowed Macedonians to make forays into Serbia and then take refuge within the Bulgarian border. In Albania King Zog's fortunes prospered on Balkan intrigue against Yugoslavia. He permitted Italian engineers to build military roads leading from the Adriatic to the Yugoslav border.

Premier Jevtitch and General Zivkovitch—the latter known as the “Yugoslav Rivera”—though enemies of Mussolini and Italy, were fascists. Theirs was a philosophy of force, reaction, and dictatorship. When they spoke of solving the Croat problem, they meant destruction of the Croat spirit and imprisonment of any Croat leader bold enough to differ with Jevtitch-Zivkovitch autocracy. Against their Serbian fellow countrymen they were hardly less arbitrary. Their rule meant trouble for Yugoslavia internally and strained relations with the kingdom's neighbors.

Fortunately for the harassed monarchy, the Jevtitch régime soon overplayed its hand. In the elections of May 1935, the dictatorship staged such an outbreak of terrorism that public opinion turned definitely against the Government. A few weeks later the Prince Regent Paul called upon Dr. Milan Stoyadinovitch to form a ministry. The fascist politicians were repudiated by this step. For Dr. Stoyadinovitch is a democrat by principle, the first truly democratic leader to occupy the premiership. He is an economist first, a politician second. He lost no time in expressing his intention to abandon the dictatorship and return to constitutional government.

It took all the new Premier's statesmanship to turn some of his Serbian countrymen from the fascist methods of Jevtitch and Zivkovitch to the democratic ways of the Stoyadinovitch group. Repudiating Jevtitch's anti-Croat policies, he tried to bring into the new Government not only the Croats and Slovenes but also the Bosnian Moslems and the various ethnic minorities. He expressed a desire to make all the peoples of the kingdom feel that they were partners in a national enterprise, not merely outsiders watching the Serbs rule the nation.

The Prime Minister realized, however, that there could be no internal peace in the kingdom until Yugoslavia's strength was recognized abroad. As long as Mussolini

could use dissident Croats and Macedonians as his terrorist agents in Yugoslavia and as long as Hungary could maintain so-called “murder farms” for the training of assassins, there would be strife within the South Slav realm.

First Power, Then Respect

With this objective Dr. Stoyadinovitch set out to make his country so powerful as to compel the respect of its neighbors. His policy was expressed in his statement: “If the necessity arises, we shall not defend our territory by spilling ink!”

Not only did Premier Stoyadinovitch set out to impress Italy and Hungary with the futility of attacking Yugoslavia, but he also carried forward King Alexander's work of striving for an understanding with Bulgaria. Fortunately for the Prime Minister's purpose, the Italo-Ethiopian affair removed some of the external pressure against Yugoslavia. The Duce was forced to concentrate his strength against possible war with Britain. In spite of their large and profitable Italian trade, the Yugoslavs supported League sanctions and sacrificed their commerce with Italy. This meant considerable economic loss for the South Slavs. Belgrade showed her willingness to participate in collective action by joining London in a mutual-assistance Mediterranean pact. Had war come with Italy, this treaty might have compelled Yugoslavia to bear the brunt of the first Italian attack.

The League's failure to stop Mussolini's African program and the unwillingness of France to risk offending the Duce beyond a certain point created a bad impression in Yugoslavia. It lessened Belgrade's faith in Geneva and the Western powers. The Yugoslavs believed that they had made a greater sacrifice than any other nation to prevent the destruction of Ethiopia. This reaction caused the Yugoslavs to think more than ever in terms of national self-reliance.

The first major triumph in foreign policy



DEMOCRAT BY PRINCIPLE: Dr. Milan Stoyadinovitch, Premier of Yugoslavia, is an economist first, a politician second, and the first truly democratic leader to occupy his position.

for the Stoyadinovitch Ministry came last January when Premier George Kiosseivanoff of Bulgaria came to Belgrade and signed a pact of "inviolable" friendship with Yugoslavia. In spite of the fact that there was an Italian princess on the Bulgarian throne, Sofia was turning from Italy to Yugoslavia. Thus was closed a breach between Serbs and Bulgars that had remained open since the Second Balkan War in 1913. The Yugoslav-Bulgarian frontier, long a bloody border, now became at last a friendly meeting place of two neighbors.

Responding to pressure from Germany, Hungary made overtures to Yugoslavia. The strategy behind this move was Berlin's desire to break up the Little Entente and isolate Czechoslovakia. If the Nazis could arrange a bilateral non-aggression pact between the Hungarians and Yugoslavs, the

political status quo in the Danubian area would be destroyed. Budapest could then effectively support Berlin's offensive against Prague. Although Premier Stoyadinovitch has been willing to replace the former strained relations between Yugoslavia and Hungary with a *detente*, his loyalty to the Little Entente has led him to refuse any pact with the Magyars that would scrap Belgrade's treaties with Bucharest and Prague.

The Hungarians have suspended their propaganda drive against the South Slavs. They have quietly closed the "murder farms" where Ustashi agents were trained for terrorist acts in Yugoslavia. Belgrade has watched with satisfaction this change in the policies of her old enemy. But the Serbs are under no illusions that the Magyars have experienced a change of heart. Budapest's policies are influenced by the strategy of *Realpolitik*, directed by the ambitious fascist political technicians in Berlin and Rome.

"Cordial Friendship"

Europe was startled late last year by Mussolini's sensational Milan speech in which he championed Hungary's revisionist ambitions and made overtures to Yugoslavia. Did this mean that Belgrade had turned her back on Prague and Bucharest? When the belligerent Duce spoke of "cordial friendship" between Italians and South Slavs, what were his motives? There were predictions that the Little Entente was falling to pieces. Nazi editorials hinted that Belgrade, too, was turning on the Berlin-Rome axis.

Actually Mussolini's *volte face* was caused by his own weakness. Heavily involved in Ethiopia and Spain, and faced with a rearming Britain in the Mediterranean, the Duce was compelled to make the best possible deal with the Yugoslavs in order to protect his back. It must have been a humiliating experience for the flam-

boyant Italian dictator to abandon the long campaign which he and his predecessors have waged to make the eastern shore of the Adriatic part of a new Roman empire. But Mussolini had steered his ship of state into such a vulnerable position that no course was left him except to turn around and go back. That is what he did in his Milan speech.

Dr. Stoyadinovitch and his ministers watched this Italian move with cynical interest. It offered them the opportunity to strengthen their international position enormously and particularly the safety of their Adriatic coast. It gave them a chance to curtail the profiteering activities of King Zog and his Albanian henchmen. Belgrade took a realistic view of the situation. The traditional enmity of Latin and South Slav was not ended, nor had the Duce given up his ambitions to extend his rule into the Balkans. The words "cordial friendship" were verbiage to hide the plight of Italian foreign relations.

Four months ago Yugoslavia and Italy signed a five-year pact guaranteeing the status quo along the Adriatic and granting concessions to the Yugoslav minority in Italy. This treaty was supplemented by an Italo-Yugoslav exchange of letters guaranteeing the independence of Albania. What this really meant, however, was that Italy would cease her anti-Yugoslav machinations in Albania, would stop stirring up Albanian tribes against the Serbs, and would quit building military roads leading from seaport military bases to the Yugoslav frontier. It was a major diplomatic victory for Yugoslavia.

Acting as his own foreign minister Dr. Stoyadinovitch was careful to emphasize to the press, however, that the Italo-Yugoslav accord affected neither Yugoslavia's alliances and other international obligations, nor her position in the League of Nations.

Commercially, the pact has already facilitated Yugoslavia's export trade to Italy.

Politically, the treaty has put an end to the eighteen-year-old Italian anti-Serb agitation in Slovenia and Croatia. As long as the Duce lives up to the spirit of the pact there is little danger of an explosion on the Italo-Yugoslav frontier, which has been since the war one of the most menacing peace threats in Europe.

As was to be expected, the conclusion of this accord provoked the charge that Yugoslavia had joined the Fascist coalition, that Belgrade had torpedoed the Little Entente. Yugoslav denials of these accusations might be discounted, but the prompt statements of Foreign Minister Antonescu of Roumania and Foreign Minister Krafta of Czechoslovakia could not be lightly dismissed. The Roumanian and Czechoslovak spokesmen declared that their respective governments approved of Yugoslavia's arrangement with Italy. They denied that the pact affected the unity of the Little Entente or prevented their Yugoslav ally from carrying out her obligations to the Little Entente and to the League.

Territorial Status Quo

Dr. Stoyadinovitch is pursuing a line of foreign policy that will make his country as independent as possible. The lesson of the Ethiopian conquest was not lost on Belgrade. The course of history, from Kosovo to the assassination of Alexander I, has taught the Serbs that defense of their territory must depend entirely on their own powers. The whole Yugoslav nation remains suspicious of Italy. The Premier has bluntly remarked that the international scramble to win Yugoslav favor was to be attributed to the increasing strength of the South Slav army. He said recently that his foreign policies are neither pro-French, pro-German, nor pro-Italian, but pro-Yugoslav. He wants to preserve the territorial status quo of southeastern Europe. As the Yugoslavs have no territorial ambitions, it follows that their policies are defensive.

And as both Italy and Germany have expansionist foreign policies, it is obvious that their aims clash with those of Yugoslavia.

Inasmuch as no other country except Poland suffered such terrific losses in the World War as Serbia, Belgrade is determined to use its influence against policies that would cause the outbreak of a general European conflict. Such a war would almost certainly involve Yugoslavia. As the most powerful military nation in the Balkan area, Yugoslavia is able to put the brakes on the Fascist war chariot. Belgrade's refusal to leave the Little Entente and join the ranks of the Fascist International spoiled the plans of the Rosenbergs and Cianos who are promoting that alliance.

Yugoslavia is, of course, confronted by many pressing problems. In spite of the progress made in the past two years, the country is by no means out of the woods.

There are still grave differences between the Croats and Serbs. The danger of return to a dictatorship of the Jevtitch type is not to be overlooked. The Jevtitches and Zivkovitches are in the background awaiting an opportunity to stage a *coup d'état* against the Stoyadinovitch Government.

If the Yugoslavs can continue the enlightened and progressive leadership of Dr. Stoyadinovitch and the men who surround him, there is ground for hope that further progress will be made toward the goal of Yugoslav unity and democracy. In a speech before the Yugoslav Parliament, Dr. Antun Korosec, Stoyadinovitch Minister of the Interior, made this significant statement: "After us may come a government still more liberal and still more democratic, if a disciplined people so desire it, but it can never come to fascism!"



BIRTH CONTROL'S BIG YEAR

*The sanction of physicians and the courts
has given the movement a new lease on life*

By MABEL TRAVIS WOOD

ITS legal and medical victories won, the birth control movement in the United States emerges from a century of propaganda and conflict and enters a constructive period of planning and expansion. Since 1823, when Francis Place in England first championed the right of the working class to plan their families, probably no year has been more significant for the cause of voluntary parenthood than 1937. This year the pressure of public opinion and the influences at work for the last twenty-five years culminated in the favorable decision of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, and in the acceptance of birth control by the American Medical Association as a legitimate part of medical practice.

In January, 1937, it was announced that the court decision, handed down late in 1936, would not be appealed to the Supreme Court. Involving the importation of a package of contraceptives from Japan by a New York physician, this decision is the broadest of a series of recent federal court interpretations clarifying the legal rights of physicians in the matter of receiving or sending contraceptive supplies. The judges stated, in their opinion, that the Comstock Act of 1873 was not designed to prevent the importation, sale, or carriage by mail of things to be employed by physicians "for the purpose of saving life or promoting the well being of their patients."

Hailed by the press as a "turning point" and a "landmark" in the history of medicine, the recognition of birth control by the American Medical Association will do much

to make reliable contraceptive information more speedily available to all the people. For years the Association had shelved resolutions on the question, because of the bitter opposition of groups within its own ranks. Its acceptance comes six years after the principal Protestant and Jewish church bodies had gone on record for scientific birth control, 12 years after its own Section on Obstetrics, Gynecology, and Abdominal Surgery recognized contraception as a medical problem. It comes when more than 300 birth control clinics are functioning in the United States under medical direction.

Though belated, the report adopted by the Association is constructive, thorough, and forward-looking. It outlines a program to further the progress of contraception in law, research, clinical service, and education in medical schools. That birth control is a positive program related to the whole field of human fertility is emphasized. The recommendation is made that medical students be instructed not only in contraceptive techniques, but in all factors pertaining to fertility and sterility.

For today "birth control" means much more than the limitation of births. It means the planning of families and the spacing of births so that the health of both mothers and children will be protected. The case for the voluntary spacing of pregnancies was greatly fortified by statistics published by the United States Children's Bureau in 1925 and showing that the death rate among both mothers and babies is much higher when the interval between births has been only one year.

It was from Holland and England that America's best known lay advocate of birth control, Margaret Sanger, secured inspiration and knowledge of clinical methods to forward her campaign. Mrs. Sanger's work as a nurse on the lower East Side of New York City so impressed her with the needless suffering and deaths among poor mothers who were denied contraceptive information that in 1912 she dedicated her career to the fight for birth control.

Although Mrs. Sanger's first clinic, opened in 1916 in a slum district of Brooklyn, was closed by the police in a few days, the publicity attending her subsequent arrest and month's imprisonment did much to focus popular opinion and to lead toward her establishment of a permanent clinic seven years later. This was the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau of New York City, oldest and largest birth control center in the United States, the work of which Mrs. Sanger now directs.

The American Birth Control League was organized in 1921. Mrs. Sanger was its president until 1928, when she resigned to concentrate upon a campaign in Washington to amend the federal laws. Now that court decisions have clarified the legal rights of physicians, an amendment is unnecessary, and the purpose of her National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control has been accomplished. In the meantime, the American Birth Control League has carried forward the work of organizing State leagues and clinics, of enlisting the support of the medical profession, and of extending medical school education in contraceptive techniques. Dr. Clarence Cook Little, biologist, is now League president.

The work of many courageous physicians in this century has played an indispensable part in the growth and acceptance of the movement. Dr. William J. Robinson of New York began in 1904 a vigorous educational campaign in his booklet *Limita-*

tion of Offspring, which antedated by ten years Mrs. Sanger's *Family Limitation*. In 1905 he issued to physicians a leaflet describing contraceptive techniques. Until his death last year, he continued active efforts to secure more enlightened public and medical opinion on what he called "pre-vention."

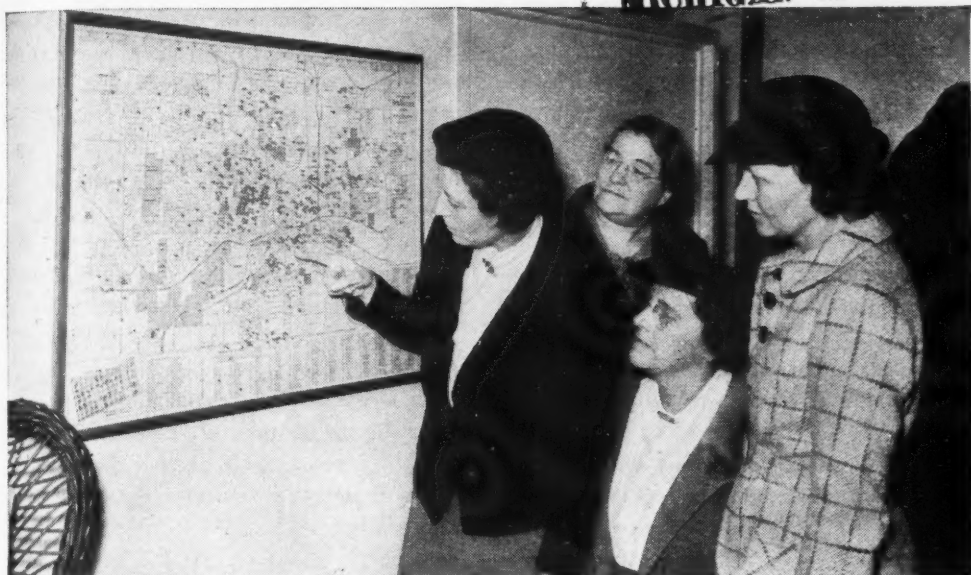
Outstanding among the work of other medical pioneers was that of Dr. Robert Latou Dickinson, chairman of the executive committee of the National Committee on Maternal Health, and of the late Dr. J. Whitridge Williams, of Johns Hopkins Medical School. Two former presidents of the American Medical Association—the late Dr. Abraham Jacobi in 1912 and Dr. William Allen Pusey in 1924—have stated in their presidential addresses that contraception is the responsibility of the medical profession.

Growth of the Clinics

America's birth control clinics today are translating into practical action Francis Place's ideal of social justice, to extend to all classes the right to have their children under a system of conscious planning. In 41 States, 310 such medically directed centers are giving advice to mothers who are too poor to consult a physician privately. The greatest increase in such centers has come during the past two years, when their number has doubled. In January, 1935, there were 150 centers on record; in 1930, not more than 50.

The American Birth Control League had six state leagues in 1930; now there are organized member leagues guiding the extension of clinics in 24 states. All of these have representation on the national Board of Directors. The League and its state leagues have some 16,000 members.

The last few years have seen an increasing trend toward the establishment of birth control clinics as a part of tax-supported community health service. Fifty-three



MAPPING THE CAMPAIGN: Birth control officials of the Iowa Maternal Health League study the distribution of patients at the League's Des Moines clinic.

clinics in 21 states are supported wholly or partially by public funds. Nine clinics now have quarters in town and city halls; 20 are located in city and county health departments and 65 in hospitals. Other centers are in settlement houses, church parish halls, visiting nurse headquarters, physicians' offices, and private quarters.

Clergymen, university professors, clubwomen, lawyers, business men, and other leading citizens are among those sponsoring birth control programs. These lay committees raise money and obtain publicity for the clinics, give prestige to the work, and help to extend the number of clinics in their localities.

Medical policies of State leagues and clinics are set by advisory boards of local physicians. The medical advisory board of the American Birth Control League is the National Medical Council on Birth Control and has a membership of 74 physicians in 23 States.

Enlisting the cooperation of social workers is one of the most important activities of birth control organizations, for the social

worker is the direct link between the clinic and the woman who needs contraceptive advice. Social agencies are becoming increasingly aware that birth control gets at the source of many conditions of poverty, ill health, and domestic discord, and that without it family case work will be merely palliative.

The American Birth Control League has been an associate group of the National Conference of Social Work since 1928, and ten state leagues now have membership in their state social work conferences. More than 2,300 social workers attended the sessions conducted by the League during the National Conference in Indianapolis this May.

Though birth control clinicians give advice for health reasons, increasing emphasis is being placed on the interrelationship between organic disease and economic and social factors. Forty-one per cent of new patients at birth control clinics in 1935 were on whole or partial relief, according to the reports of one hundred centers. Mothers on relief have been found eager

to avail themselves of birth control information. The fact that the birth rate among families on relief has been about fifty per cent higher than that among self-supporting families in the same social strata does not indicate that families have more children because they are dependent. Studies of the Milbank Memorial Fund point out that, on the contrary, families may be dependent because they have more children.

More than 70,000 new patients were received at birth control clinics in 1935, and the number in 1936 was doubtless larger because of the increase in clinics. Detailed case histories are taken. The age of patients averages 28 years, and the number of living children three. Before coming to the clinics, the majority of patients have tried one or more methods of birth control, which have proved unreliable. It is not uncommon for older patients to have had five or six abortions. One patient at a Chicago clinic last year said she had had 32 abortions.

Incidentally, one-quarter of America's high maternal death rate is due to abortion, Dr. Frederick J. Taussig points out in *Abortion-Spontaneous and Induced*. "Economic distress is at the root of the largest number of induced abortions," he states. "Of all the measures suggested for the control of abortion none equals in importance the widespread establishment of clinics for contraceptive advice and provision for the free distribution of contraceptive materials among the poor."

About half of the clinic patients pay nothing. Fees for those who can pay vary between a quarter and about three dollars. It has been found that when the woman pays something, no matter how little, she places more value on the service received. One dollar is the maximum fee at the twelve centers maintained in settlement houses of Manhattan and the Bronx by the New York City Committee of Mothers' Health Centers.

Staffs of clinics which have been functioning for several years are pointing with

pride to "planned babies." Mothers who have been successfully using the method and know they need never again fear unwanted pregnancy will tell the nurse, "Now that my husband has a job again, and Junior is almost three, we've decided it's time to have another baby." During a mother's first visit the clinic nurse always explains that the object of birth control is not to stop her from having more babies but to help her to have healthy babies when she is ready for them.

In Great Britain, birth control has been a public health measure since 1930, when the Ministry of Health issued the first of a series of memoranda urging local Maternity and Child Welfare Authorities to set up contraceptive clinics. At the beginning of this year, 196 Authorities out of 423 in England and Wales had done so. An organization of laymen and physicians, the National Birth Control Association has been stimulating the local Authorities to start clinics, and also establishing clinics under private auspices. Lord Horder, one of Britain's most celebrated physicians, is president of the Association.

Britain's experience indicates that the movement in this country, in spite of its rapid gains, faces a task requiring considerable time, research, and leadership before safe birth control methods will become generally available. The present clinics in the United States reach only a small proportion of the urban women eligible for their service. Only recently has the movement begun to penetrate at all to rural and mountain districts, where maternal and infant death rates are particularly high and mothers are in acute need of relief from continuous child-bearing. Experiments have been started in several localities in simplified methods under medical direction that can be brought to the woman in her home. The idea of traveling clinics is being considered by several State birth control leagues.

One of the most important public services which the American Medical Association's program promises is the investigation of contraceptive products by its Bureau of Pharmacy and Chemistry. Flourishing without regulation, the new industry in contraceptives has reached alarming proportions. Many of the "feminine hygiene" products and devices that flood the market are worthless; some are distinctly dangerous.

The legal situation may require further clarification, as eight States have laws restricting the distribution of contraceptive supplies and information. However, in all these eight states except Mississippi birth control clinics are now functioning openly. The American Medical Association report assumes, and legal authorities have confirmed that the State courts, if called on to construe these statutes, will adopt lines of reasoning similar to those followed in cases decided by the federal courts and will declare physicians exempt from the restrictions of the State laws.

The only organized opposition remaining in the United States is that of the Roman Catholic Church, which holds that scientific contraception is contrary to natural and moral law.

The fact that high Catholic officials in 1933 began to advocate the "rhythm" or "safe period" method of birth control has modified the Church's position. The most convincing arguments for family limitation and child spacing appear in the "rhythm" pamphlets published with ecclesiastical approbation. Unfortunately, medical science has not yet been able to accept the "rhythm" method as reliable.

Even in Catholic-dominated Puerto Rico, 1937 has brought a notable and long-needed victory. Acting Governor Ramos, himself a Catholic, in signing on May first the bill legalizing birth control on the island, said, "I have not convinced myself that judicious use of contraceptives is in

conflict with wholesome public morality in its broadest sense."

Birth control meets with scattered opposition from those who believe that it will cause a dangerous decline in the birth rate. On the other hand, leading population authorities remind us that population adjusts itself to economic opportunity and that birth control is only one of many factors contributing to a lower birth rate. Many predict that a stationary population, which the United States seems due to reach about 1960, will be salutary for the country.

A "Qualitative" Race

A statement issued by 16 sociologists and population authorities in December, 1935, answering Cardinal Hayes, pointed out, "There is, of course, the possibility that the present decline in the rate of population growth may threaten actual under-population. But the surest way to forestall this result is to establish the social practice of regulating reproduction intelligently and purposefully. Society should then be able to set up new incentives and conventions to reverse the trend."

Eugenicists, who are concerned with the quality rather than the quantity of population, see in widespread birth control one instrument for racial improvement. In the past, birth control knowledge has had a dysgenic effect, they state, because it has reached only the more intelligent and capable people, who have been having too few children, while some other elements of the population have increased too rapidly.

The place of birth control as a medical and public health movement has now been established and it will undoubtedly proceed along this line. At the same time, today's progress in scientific contraception opens a new era, toward which men and women have been groping through countless centuries—voluntary control over the creation of life, for greater human dignity and human happiness.

HOW REAL IS RECOVERY?

The economic world remains out of political balance despite numerous indices of recovery

By CHARLES HODGES

HOW far up—how long? These are the real questions of recovery today round the globe. For, even if all the indexes point in the same economic direction, the nations of the world offer no great assurance that politics will permit the consolidation of commercial, industrial, and financial gains.

When we talk about such things as recovery and international economics, we must remember that there are two worlds of men on this planet. One is the rural billion living on the land; the other is that of the industrial nations. For the land-bound humanity of the first world, there has been no such thing as international economic collapse—or recovery. These thousand million peasant farmers have gone through it all stolidly sweating their sustenance from the soil. Hundreds of millions in Asia outside of Japan, tens of millions in Africa far from the Rand gold mines, not to mention Latin-American peons, beyond the exotic circle of plantation production for export, would not know what depression means unless it took the ground literally from beneath their feet.

This is an experience in the main reserved exclusively for the wage-workers of Western Europe, the United States, and those eastward migrating factory towns such as Bombay, Shanghai, and Osaka. They are the bulking millions of town-dwellers who constitute the machine tenders of a mechanical age, and they, not the rural billion contributing a trickle of raw materials to their support, know this thing

called prosperity—and its other side, depression.

These nations of the industrial west are urban islands. They float artificially upon a sea of crops. Their landless millions, jammed into the industrial centers of the North Atlantic basin, have lost all pretense of being self-sufficient unless they revert to a more primitive military basis. These countries, together with their agricultural satellites revolving around them, are slaves of supply and demand in terms of the market place. Food—food for men and machines—is drawn into the European vortex of the whirlpool-like sweep of trade round the globe. Interruption of this flow, which gives industrial life its balanced economic diet, becomes commercial strangulation.

In sharp contrast to the leisurely rural billion only incidentally bound up with the industrial world, the agricultural satellites of the dominant town-dwelling peoples find themselves sucked into the sweep of modern business. Outposts of progress in conventional capitalistic terms, they have been “developed” through an elaborate loan structure into the poor relations of the industrial nations. The upshot of the technique of high-powered money centers has been to transform such lands too rapidly into systematic over-producers of raw materials and foodstuffs in a world where price—not human needs—dictates. These agricultural millions are subject to all the play of forces within the machine world. When depression parches the flow of international trade, their bit of prosperity



evaporates. Their indebtedness overseas, however, remains menacingly substantial to the economic end.

Here we have the "one-commodity" lands. Prosperity outside of their control, existence even is bound up with "export" crops and products destined for the industrial powers. The systematic over-producers for world markets begin in the wheat belt; dominate the outlook for the "breakfast-table countries" with their tea, coffee, and sugar; and ceaselessly develop strategic raw-material sources from Finnish timber to Malayan tin. There is that other Europe, the still predominantly agrarian Europe eastward which feeds the western industrialisms. Our Latin-American neighbors have put from 50 to 70 per cent and over of their exports into a single product. This same forced growth, so phenomenal since 1913 when mapped, leads to a repetition of the story in Africa. The post-War industrial hunger for materials has boomed the Sudan into a new "South" with 39 per cent of its total exports cotton at the close of the 1920s; the Belgian Congo mushroomed into a Lake Superior copper rival whose ore exports rose to 37 per cent of its whole trade. Eastward, Ceylon's tea, planted with fertile British pounds, has made the leaf account for 49 per cent of the island's exports.

One does not have to be an economist to figure out what happened when the "world" markets, from New York to London and Kobe to Hamburg, literally dried up under the scorching spread of depression. When the financial leadership of the business powers began to crack up in 1929, the Wall Street rift did not stop with money markets or in industry; far-flung commodity collapses, accentuated by over-expansion going back to wartime fear of goods starvation, shook the single-product lands. Dependent upon trade that ceased to exist, these countries became for practical purposes bankrupt. Lands of too much of one thing could not give away their products—

Brazil is still burning coffee. National revenues, frequently more than half derived from import and export duties in one-commodity lands, simply vanished. Deficits bred revolution at home; debt payments ceased abroad; public and private credit alike became impaired disastrously.

In this way, the one-commodity lands, assets of prime importance in good times, become under economic collapse the nemesis of the business world.

What Now?

This sketch of what happened to one part of a world that lost 22 million dollars each working day in the diminishing international exchange of goods during the bad years of the 1930s, tells us something of crucial importance. Though we talk about recovery, world trade lags. So long as international commerce remains far below other upward trends, the essential re-establishment of interdependent business activities has not taken place between nations. Even if Britain, achieving a level of production 16 per cent above the peak of 1929 this past year, has been able to say that for the first time since the Great War it has economically topped the pre-War years, blighted world trade discounts the statistical optimism. Half a decade of sinking commerce values carried indexes of trade from 1929, represented as 100, down to 31 in the bottom-bumping year of 1935; it climbed uncertainly to a 1936 average of 37; now, winning back the ground of a year-end reaction, world trade has pushed up into the 40s. While nations have been able to patch up their national economic systems or revamp them on a dictatorial pattern, the channels of trade are still perilously jammed. This explains why the upturn is marked by ominous unevenness.

Business . . . Present Arms!

Ironically enough, the world's armaments race has helped to delude us. Thus,



Great Britain's arms program has been extensive enough to lift the whole economic level once again. So, for Hitler's Germany. So, too, for Mussolini's Italy. So, too, for the military and naval program of the United States—not to mention Japan's arms expansion in the midst of looming financial difficulties.

What this means can best be said by the German Institute for Business Research when it estimates that armaments "benefit a good 60 per cent of industry in the different countries. . . ." Of course, beyond the immediate stimulus of the war industries, there lurks economic reaction. What we actually have is an arms jag. It is the outstanding sinister development today in the economic world. It is diverting industrial activity into non-productive channels. It is jumping commodity prices in speculative waves bringing the suckers back to the "Big Board" to gamble against Mars. It is taking credits from business not within the magic circle of war industries. It is shooting up the tax burden in overloaded fiscal systems.

Take the economic corollary of militarism; economic nationalism. This force has stimulated industrial research to a degree where laboratory substitutes will have to be reckoned with in the commercial market. These new basic materials are gaining sufficient importance to compete with the "old" sources of supply. Therefore, world recovery once again involves the double strain of not only readjusting trade relations between competing "old" and "new" countries; there is a similar battle going on in the sphere of "old" and "new" basic materials.

Under the double goad of depression and ascendant militarism, the public finances of the Great Powers all have one thing in common—the growing dishonesty of their national balance sheets. If we have recovery, it is being achieved without the pretense of balanced budgets. Most nations,

including the United States, are accepting the idea that we cannot "recover" by living within our income. Deficit "financeering" now threatens to be with us so long as the arms race continues.

Obviously the capital problem of monetary stabilization eludes solution. The spasmodic movements of gold are testimony to the precarious state of recovery in terms of public finance. These funds on the loose represent preponderately capital running away from danger abroad. They point to the failure of business nations to demobilize monetary defenses—behind that, to the inability of countries to restore the prime requisite of a price equilibrium even though foreign exchange has tended to narrow its swings. Under these enumerated circumstances, it is hardly prudent to call attention to the reduction of short-term indebtedness while ignoring the vast mountain of long-term debts whose potentialities as scraps of paper grow with every arms increase.

Let me repeat: The testimony of every index points to one fact—but the economic world remains out of political balance. The course of the depression, arrested and even turned up again toward prosperity, shows that the equilibrium between industries, between monetary systems, between nations themselves remains to be restored in the only way possible under our prevalent capitalistic industrialism. International cooperation, however, seems bizarre in our political world where nations call naval conferences and break them up, protest their passion for peace but convoy "volunteers" to urge a "little world war" in a hapless neighbor's territory, claim that they cannot meet their debts but lay down new warcraft, prepare neutrality bills but revise military estimates upward.

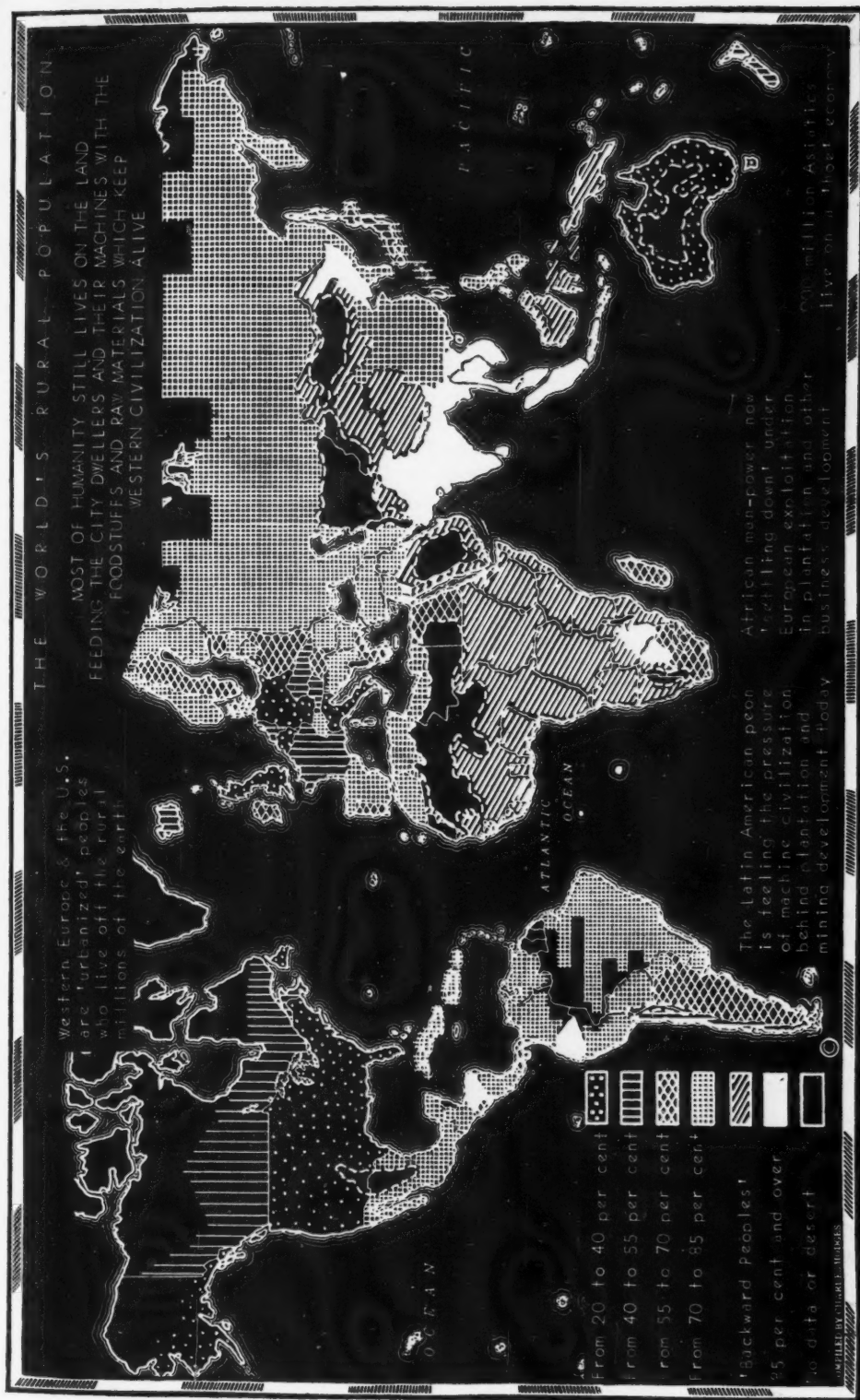
Such a world may not be doomed. However, it has prepared itself if not intelligently at least thoroughly for the worst.

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CARIBBEAN LABORATORY, U.S.A.

*Virgin Islanders are U. S. citizens,
use U. S. stamps, and have a New Deal*

By ROBERT W. DESMOND

FOR more than twenty years the United States flag has been flying over the Virgin Islands. Yet Americans are only beginning to discover where the islands are, and what they are. Many do not realize that United States postage stamps are used on mail in the Hawaiian Islands, and it will surprise the same persons to know that Virgin Islanders are as much American citizens as the residents of Massachusetts. Omnipotent Congress made them so.

The islands, considered as a unit, are one of Uncle Sam's war babies. He bought them at a very fancy price in 1917 for fear that Germany might get them instead and use them as a base for attacks on the United States coast, on the Panama Canal, or upon ships. This is a clue to their location. They are about 1400 miles southeast of New York, four and one-half days by steamer and about 18 hours by commercial airline, mere flyspecks on the map of the West Indies just at the corner where that crescent of island stepping-stones turns south toward the equator. The Atlantic Ocean is east of them, the Caribbean Sea, west.

There are about fifty islands in the group, but only three are of any size or importance. The most generally known is St. Thomas. Nearby is St. John, smaller, little populated, but beautiful. St. Croix, 40 miles south, the largest of the islands, is flatter and best suited to agriculture. All of the islands lie within a radius of 50 miles, but they comprise only 133 square miles, less than one-ninth the size of Rhode Island, and have about 20,000 population,

which has been a declining figure for a century, and more than 90 per cent of which is black or mixed, descendants of slaves brought to the islands from Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The islands were named by Christopher Columbus, who saw so many small islets on the horizon when he made his second voyage to the western hemisphere in 1493, that he despaired of finding a saint's name for each of them. So he named them after St. Ursula and her Eleven Thousand Virgins.

Whether there are any virgins in the Virgin Islands now, despite their name, is a vulgar question uttered by persons of humorous intent. It is a question, however, not wholly without point. Due to emigration, women outnumber men there by as much as 12 per cent in some sections. More than 50 per cent of the births in the islands are illegitimate.

It is a fact that many native women prefer not to be married. They believe they have a greater hold over their men that way, since if the man is not good to them they may leave and find another who will be, without complications. The only sad fate is to be "neglected," as they put it. This system is a survival of slave days, when there was no object in marriage or family life among the blacks, since husband, wife, and children might be, and often were, shipped off for sale in widely separated places, never to hear of one another again. Although illegitimacy is regarded by some as regrettable, it is no disgrace, and the schools of the Virgin Islands

keep the records of the children with separate columns for the names of mothers, fathers, or guardians.

A more serious matter than illegitimacy itself is the lack of family life. That situation also derives from slave days, and has been emphasized in recent years by the lack of employment. Many of the best workers and the most ambitious emigrate to the United States, leaving the children behind with relatives or with elderly persons who may be no kin at all. This has resulted in truancy and misbehavior among some of the children, although serious crime is exceedingly rare in the islands.

Economic Liabilities

It is true that the islands' economy has been badly in need of improvement for many years. Denmark, which owned them for three hundred years, found that they were an administrative headache, and it was not reluctant to transfer the burden to the United States in 1917 for \$25,000,000—five times the price offered in 1865. From 1917 until 1931 the islands were under the administration of the Navy Department, and during those fourteen years the United States taxpayers contributed \$6,500,000 to their maintenance.

Strategically, the islands may have had value in 1865, or even in 1902. The harbor at St. Thomas is deep and good, but not big enough for a fleet of naval vessels of the size required today. But the American purchase of the Virgin Islands prevented Germany or any other nation raising the issue by gaining control of them.

There was a time when the Virgin Islands were rolling in wealth. It came from two sources—sugar-cane production and shipping. The islands were once a way-station in the slave trade between Africa and the Southern States. Labor was plentiful and cheap, the terrain and rainfall in St. Croix were suited to cane growing. When the

price of sugar was high, therefore, British and Danish promoters developed large plantations in St. Croix and lived in luxury—for a while.

This was the golden age for St. Croix. The Bethlehem sugar estate, near the middle of the island, sold in 1798 for \$245,000. By 1870 its price was down to \$70,000, and in 1903 it brought only \$45,000. Sugar production had been widely undertaken in the world and the price fell sharply, while the end of slavery sent up labor costs. The combination squeezed out many estate owners, and their mills fell into ruins. When outsiders did come in to renew production, they stayed only so long as they were making money. While this was natural from their point of view, it threw the masses into unemployment and poverty. Even the rainfall seemed to conspire at times to make more miserable the plight of the islanders, for it failed to contribute enough moisture to bring good crops or to fill the cisterns upon which they were dependent for their water.

As for St. Thomas, ships did continue to come into the harbor to take on coal and provisions. Although private Danish companies and individuals owned much of the land, the shops, and the coaling dock, these did provide some employment for the masses of impecunious blacks. But the war years curtailed shipping, and after a very active revival during the nineteen-twenties, it fell off sharply again in the depression era. Then the installation of an automatic coaling crane threw the coal-women out of employment entirely, so that by 1931 desperation and starvation were beginning to stalk the streets of St. Thomas.

New Deal for the Islands

This was the general situation in 1931 when the United States began to do something definite about the Virgin Islands. Herbert D. Brown, Chief of the United

States Bureau of Efficiency, seems to have been the first to use the word "rehabilitate" in reference to this territory. He believed that the islands could be made self-supporting, pleasant, attractive, happy, and possibly even prosperous. He proposed a sort of "new deal" for these islands, under a civil administration, and his plan went into effect in March, 1931, when Paul M. Pearson, appointed by President Hoover, walked into the Governor's office at Government House, St. Thomas, and sat down. He remained in charge until 1935, when a political feud brought his resignation, without any discredit to him.

President Hoover himself, cruising in the West Indies, put into St. Thomas harbor a few weeks after Governor Pearson assumed office. He was not favorably impressed and remarked that the United States had acquired in the islands "an effective poorhouse." His remark startled the more intelligent natives into trying to do something to improve their own islands, and it gave the new civil officials a certain backing in their demands for cooperation from Washington.

Since such prosperity as the islands had enjoyed had come from agriculture and commerce, these were regarded as providing the keys for a rehabilitation program—together with a plan for social renovation, for the death rate was shockingly high, infant mortality was large, and most of the natives were living in wretched shacks, without proper sanitation or even ventilation. Undernourishment was common, and the islanders were poorly educated.

The Government, using Efficiency-Man Brown's plan, set out to restore sugar-cane production in St. Croix; to attract more shipping to St. Thomas; to attract tourists and winter visitors; to help natives acquire land and homes of their own and to teach them to cultivate their fields; to give them more and better education; and to encourage family life and community feeling.

For five years, now, this rehabilitation program has been under way. The worst that can be said about it is that it has been very slow in some of its divisions, and it has cost too much money. In the seven years from 1931 to 1938 the civil administration will have spent about \$7,000,000, compared to the \$6,500,000 expended in 14 years by the Navy Department. About \$4,000,000 has been poured in during the last five years for emergency projects alone, plus about \$260,000 this year (it used to be more) to cover the regular administrative costs and deficit appropriations to balance the St. Thomas-St. John and the St. Croix municipal budgets.

Rehabilitation Progresses

The best that can be said about the program going on in this Caribbean "laboratory for American colonial administration" is that it seems likely to make St. Croix self-supporting within about three years if the quota for the admission of St. Croix raw sugar into the United States can be raised from its present 5462 tons a year, set by the Costigan-Jones Act on the basis of one of the island's worst years of production, to at least 10,000 tons a year, and preferably 18,000 tons, which is the island's maximum potential production, but which yet would amount to very little in the enormous American sugar bowl. And, as to St. Thomas, it may become self-supporting within a decade, if tourists can be persuaded to come to the islands in greater numbers than at present.

After all, island officials declare, the Virgin Islands offer much of the charm that is found in the popular vacation spots of Bermuda and the Bahamas, which are under the British flag. While the Virgin Islands are farther from New York, they are potentially as attractive.

The civil administration has done a great deal for the Virgin Islands. It has established homesteads in St. Croix, and a few

in St. Thomas, and has had excellent success in placing industrious and capable families upon them. Some homesteaders also have had the Government build small houses for them on the same 20-years-to-pay and 3 per cent interest basis they follow in buying the land.

The Virgin Islands Company, with \$2,520,030 of government money, has gone into St. Croix to help the natives rather than to exploit them, as so many private companies had done in the past. It purchased 5,000 acres of land, put 2,200 of them into cane production, has harvested its first sizeable crop this spring, is giving employment to many natives, is rebuilding ten villages for their occupancy in model cottages, has rebuilt two old sugar cane grinding mills, is providing a market at a fair price for the cane grown by homesteaders, squatters, and small growers, and is making a certain amount of rum from extra cane.

An agricultural experiment station in St. Croix, with a branch in St. Thomas, is teaching the natives to work the land to best advantage, not only in cane growing, but in growing vegetables, raising livestock, and other allied activities. A vocational school is teaching carpentry, masonry, plumbing, and other trades. The public schools are teaching all children the three R's and also are giving them invaluable training in gardening, food preparation, hygiene, sewing, dressmaking, laundering, woodworking, native crafts, and are instilling an appreciation of family life, a sense of community activity, and a desire for a higher standard of living. Low-cost houses, so-called, have been put up in several parts of the island.

A government-built hotel, new roads, and private undertakings are intended to please tourists and encourage them to come to the islands in greater numbers. More West Indies cruise ships are stopping at St. Thomas, to the delight of the shopkeepers, who garner from \$500 to \$5000 per ship in

purchases made by the tourists; commercial vessels are calling in at the very satisfactory rate of about two a day for refueling and provisioning; and there is some indication that continental Americans are, in fact, discovering the islands as a place for vacationing or winter residence.

But, best of all, perhaps, in its immediate promise, is a government-sponsored cooperative, which has become self-supporting and independent since its establishment in 1931, and is selling all of the products that native men and women have been able to make. The cooperative now is paying natives about \$200 a week for their work, plus a 3 per cent annual bonus on sales, and it can dispose of more than the natives so far have been able to make, even though instructors have been engaged to teach more of them to do the work.

A Brighter Future

The future looks much brighter for the Virgin Islands than anyone would have believed possible in 1931. But there is much remaining to be done. Natives continue to emigrate because they believe opportunities are greater elsewhere. On the other hand, Puerto Ricans are beginning to move into St. Thomas and St. Croix because they believe opportunities are greater there than in their own island. That disturbs some officials, and the natives in the Virgin Islands do not like the Puerto Ricans.

There is some pessimism about the possibility of having the sugar quota raised. There is pessimism, also, in some quarters over the outlook for St. Thomas. It is held to be too far from the United States to hold attractions for large numbers of visitors. But others are more hopeful on both subjects.

At present, several hundred Virgin Islanders remain on direct relief, and more look to emergency project work to provide them with a livelihood. Yet they make

very little that way. There was some delay in getting the government funds to carry on the emergency work which will support these islanders into 1938, and even so the amount is considerably smaller than that available last year. It is less than \$500,000. That means a limited program.

If the accomplishments of the rehabilitation program are not themselves sensational enough to attract notice, the islanders seem to be winning increased attention because

of their natural attractions. If that is so, and visitors begin to go there in any numbers, the Virgin Islands' future may be even brighter than its golden age of slavery days. Under the new arrangement, the benefits will be passed around more generally, and even the United States taxpayer, whether he ever sees the islands or not, will get his share of the pie in the form of relief from having to support a non-paying territory.

England vs. the Dominions

STORIES of an almost gloves-off row on the issue of British Foreign policy at the recent Imperial Conference have for some time now been going the rounds in informed circles. Last week the icy silence of the press both at home and abroad was broken by the appearance of an article in a solitary and usually well-informed French paper declaring that strong criticism at least was levelled by Dominion spokesmen against the present policy of the Foreign Office. But the silence was immediately resumed. . . .

Actually, *The Week* learns, the row of unprecedented character hinted at in the French press was led by the New Zealand Premier, Mr. Savage, and not, as then stated, by Mr. Jordan. . . .

In the first place, Mr. Savage declared, the conclusion of the Locarno Treaty was in itself an indication that Britain had little or no intention of pursuing a thorough-going League policy, for, in the situation prevailing at the time the Treaty was signed, the Treaty was merely a repetition of League obligations on a Western European scale—unnecessary if Britain intended to "make the League work." . . .

Britain delivered a second blow at the League, Mr. Savage believed, when it refused the offered co-operation of the United States during the Manchurian crisis and followed this up by trying to give the impression that America was not willing to co-operate. . . .

Coming to the Italo-Abyssinian crisis, Mr. Savage criticized the British Government for being the first to propose the lifting of sanctions, especially at a time when the Abyssinians were still fighting and when there were strong indications at least that the aggressor could be made to give up its prey. . . .

Mr. Savage then dealt with the Anglo-German naval treaty. How was it possible, he asked, to trust England, if—but a few hours after a unanimous vote on the League Council condemning re-armament in violation of concluded treaties—she could conclude a special agreement with Germany, giving her the right to re-arm at sea? . . .

Exceptionally outspoken was the New Zealand Premier on the question of "Non-intervention." Non-intervention—a policy the initiative for which came from Britain—was being operated by Britain entirely in the favor of the insurgents. . . .

Concluding, Mr. Savage stressed the fact that New Zealand was a small country. Her distance, he said, from England and her armed forces made the policy of collective security for world peace an absolute necessity for her. . . .

There can be little wonder, therefore, that the Dominions are seriously disturbed by the misrepresentation of their point of view in both the Foreign Office communiques and in the reports of the semi-official press in this country. . . .

The Week, London

RE-HOUSING RUSSIA

*Workers live in unprecedented comfort,
but hasty building has taken its toll*

By JOSEPH H. BAIRD

SOVIET RUSSIA, during the last decade, has carried out the Gargantuan task of re-housing a large part of its population. With vast enthusiasm, but with questionable wisdom as to haste, it has thrown up thousands of modern apartment buildings for workers who once lived in tenements or hovels.

Now, as the end of the second *piataletka*, or five-year-plan, approaches, Russian officials are viewing the result of this period of rapid building. On the one hand they see thousands of workers' families living in a comfort which their fathers never imagined could exist for a laborer. But, if the men in the Kremlin are mentally honest, they must see also many mistakes in technique to avoid in the future as Russia continues its effort to raise the housing standards of the masses.

Be that as it may, the end of the first ten years of Russia's long-term housing program provides a good vantage point for the foreign observer to look back over what has been accomplished.

In no Western country was the wide disparity between the homes of the rich and of the poor more clearly marked than in pre-revolutionary Russia.

Country houses of 20 and 30 rooms, their resplendent chambers kept by large staffs of servants, dotted the landscape of European Russia, while the serfs lived in straw-thatched, evil-smelling shacks along with their hogs and cattle.

In the cities the contrast was no less extreme. The homes of the nobility and wealthy merchants of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev and Odessa were among the most

costly (if not the most beautiful, for Russian architecture was notably gaudy) in all Europe. A few of these—the American Ambassador's home in Moscow is a good example—have survived the ravages of the Revolution, and their marble interiors, mirror-like floors, and vast crystal chandeliers still are witnesses to their ancient grandeur.

Workers lived either in tumble-down wooden shacks around the edges of the industrial cities or were herded together with their many offspring (the Russians seem always to have been a prolific race) in one or two cramped rooms of a tenement.

In a few cities, notably St. Petersburg and Moscow, there was a middle class of minor government officials and professional men who lived in solid if unpretentious comfort. But this class was an insignificant part of the population.

When, in 1918, the prophets of Bolshevism proclaimed their new world, their classless society in which all men were to be not only equal in theory but actually equal in their opportunity to enjoy the good things of life, it was natural that the newly-empowered workers rushed to occupy the homes of the ousted gentry. This meant to them a concrete realization of Lenin's preachments. Just how millions were to occupy homes which previously had housed only thousands was an abstract matter which they did not stop to worry about.

Naturally, there was chaos. Servants moved from their basement rooms to their masters' chambers and invited aunts, uncles and cousins to share their newly-found splendor. Outsiders, who had known

neither the masters nor the servants, moved in, on the general theory that in a nation where the workers owned everything a worker naturally took what he wanted. Mansions which had housed one family soon were accommodating a dozen.

The infant Bolshevik Government acted soon and sternly to stop the wanton despoliation of art treasures and the looting of wine cellars, which filled the first days of the Revolution. Looters were shot without trial. Then, as soon as some semblance of government emerged, the city soviets set up committees to apportion floor-space and attempted to bring order out of chaos. But, preoccupied with the task of preserving their own power against the Whites, Lenin and his colleagues had little time at first to think of housing.

When, at last, the Whites had been vanquished and Communist power was unquestioned, the new leaders turned to this problem. For several years, however, they did little more than repair damaged buildings and try to distribute available floor space on an equitable basis.

Indeed, from 1923, which roughly marks the end of the chaotic revolutionary period, until the beginning of the first *piataletka* in 1928, the floor-space of new dwellings totaled only 136,301,719 square feet. Of this 81,358,621 square feet were privately built, as compared with only 54,943,098 constructed by the Government. During the period of civil war many houses fell into complete ruin through lack of repair. So it is doubtful whether five years after the revolution Russia had as much housing space as it did in 1918.

The First Housing Plan

The first national comprehensive plan to place Russia's toilers in better homes was not put into effect until 1928, a decade after the Revolution. This provided for the construction of thousands of the so-called "workers' apartments" of which the world

has heard so much. Mostly they were built in the suburbs of the older industrial cities, near the factories, for the convenience of their occupants. In the newer towns like Kuznetz, naturally, all building is post-revolutionary.

In designing these apartment houses, the Russian Government, eager, for both political and emotional reasons, to break with the rococo architecture of the old régime, turned to a modified modernistic style. The new flats closely resemble those built by German and Austrian socialist governments in Berlin and Vienna during the mid-1920's, although they are neither so substantial nor so attractive, due to reasons which will be touched on later. Mostly the apartments are of two or three rooms, have one bath, are well-lighted and airy, but are shoddy in finish and accoutrements.

Progress in building workers' dwellings during the first and second *piataletkas* is pictured in the following statistics.

1928-1931, Inclusive

	Floor space in square feet
Built by State and Cooperatives	284,841,063
Built by individuals	78,442,852
Total	363,283,915

1932-1935, Inclusive

Built by State and Cooperatives	869,322,433
Built by individuals	43,055,480
Total	912,377,913

Grand total1,275,661,828

Thus, in the eight years from 1928 through 1935, which include the first *piataletka* (accomplished in four instead of the originally contemplated five years) and the first four years of the second *piataletka*, Russia added about a billion and a quarter square feet to its housing space, or roughly seven and one-half square feet per person for its population of 170,000,000—a notable accomplishment.

From the beginning of the housing program until the end of last year, the Soviet



Socfoto

WORKERS' APARTMENTS: *Spacious, comfortable dwellings for the Soviet workers, although sometimes the doors won't close and the windows won't open.*

Government estimates, 11,000,000,000 roubles have been spent on new dwellings, or, at the present exchange rate of five roubles to the dollar, \$2,200,000,000.* It is further estimated that within this period 5,000,000 persons moved into new dwellings.

The Soviet housing program, of course, is not completed. The second *piataletka* still has some months to run, and, without doubt, a larger program will be included in the third five-year plan, now being drafted.

Obtaining a Home

Turning, for a moment, from the general to the specific, how does the Soviet citizen obtain a new house or apartment? The answer will vary with his position and, as in capitalistic countries, his finances.

*Because during this period the rouble has not been listed on international exchanges and has varied greatly in its domestic purchasing power, it is impossible accurately to convert roubles into dollars. Probably the present official Russian exchange rate offers as accurate a method as any, although it was not established until 1935.

(1) If he has the money to construct a home, the Soviet of the town in which he lives will assign him free land on which to build. His only obligation, in return, is to put up a house on this ground and to pay the yearly property tax. The Soviet Constitution guarantees his right to a legally-acquired homestead. He may employ masons, carpenters and other artisans from an *artel* or arrange with a building trust to erect his house.

(2) If he is employed by a state trust or a factory that owns workers' apartment houses, he may take quarters in one of them, paying rent to the state just as he would pay it to a private landlord in a capitalistic country. Incidentally, most of the new flats have been built by factories and trusts.

(3) He may obtain quarters from a rent cooperative—an organization which erects buildings for rent on the same basis as a capitalistic real estate company, save that its profits, if any, go to the state.

(4) Finally, he may join a cooperative and buy an apartment in a building which it will erect. Usually these cooperatives are made up of men in the same trade or profession. During my residence in Moscow, I lived in a cooperative house of Soviet writers.

Handicaps

In trying to re-house a nation, Soviet Russia has met three serious handicaps: 1. Poor building materials. 2. A scarcity of trained artisans. 3. An overwhelming desire for speed.

Pre-revolutionary Russia, save for its cathedrals, palaces and the relatively modern homes and apartments of cities like Moscow and St. Petersburg, had few houses that were not of wood. It never exploited its supplies of granite, limestone, and other building materials on a large scale nor developed the manufacture of high-grade brick. Hence when the Soviet construction trusts were ordered to begin the erection of thousands of brick and stone buildings they faced a task similar to that of the ancient Hebrew slaves in Egypt—making “bricks without straw.”

Too, Soviet Russia began its program with few trained artisans. Even Old Russia never had many competent bricklayers, plasterers, and other construction specialists and, like every other class, they were depleted by the years of internal struggle. Hence the present program has been carried out largely by unskilled labor. The results

of this are evident in the crudeness of the work: doors that won't swing, windows that won't open, and floors that warp and sag. In some of the new apartments I have visited, one only a few months old, wide cracks already had appeared in the masonry and paint was peeling from the woodwork. The life of these buildings obviously will be short.

In the judgment of most foreign architects and engineers who have seen the Soviet workers' new apartments, it is unfortunate that the Government did not take to heart the old adage about the value of “making haste slowly.” That, however, would not be in accord with the widely-publicized “Bolshevik tempo”—the theory that everything must be done overnight even though, as a result, it is done very badly.

The quality of Russian building, of course, is improving. Better construction materials are being produced and a new corps of skilled artisans are being trained. Some 259,000 workers now are being schooled in the building trades. The result of better materials and more competent labor may be seen in some of the houses recently completed in Moscow for Red Army officers and other members of the privileged classes.

Unfortunately, though, the great building program of the last decade has been carried out with more regard for speed and show than for permanence. Technicians believe that a large part of it will have to be repeated within a decade.



The Eight Russian Generals

THE eight Russian generals who were executed on June 12 aimed, according to the statement of Marshal Voroshiloff published after their death, "to destroy the Soviet power, overthrow the workers' and peasants' Government, and restore the yoke of the landlords and the manufacturers in the Soviet Union. They were prepared to assassinate the leaders of the Soviet party and the Government." Few people would accept the first part of this charge as true, but it is possible that the second part was not far from the truth.

There is little doubt that Stalin, by getting rid of the eight generals, prevented a rebellion against his own power. Marshal Tukhachevsky and his fellows were neither traitors nor Trotskyists, but they were almost certainly planning to overthrow the Stalin regime. . . .

All of them were young men, for the most part between forty and forty-five years old, and they had risen to power at a time when there was close co-operation between the Russian Red army and the German Reichswehr. As young officers they had been deeply impressed by the signing of the Treaty of Rapallo. . . .

No matter what were their politics these officers of the Red army admired the efficiency of the Reichswehr. This was true of Marshal Tukhachevsky, who always championed an alliance with France; it was still more true of General Uborevich and General Kork, two of the executed men, who were definitely pro-German. . . .

The group was also well known to be anti-Polish. . . .

One of the charges against the generals, therefore, was that they had conspired with Germany to divide Poland, giving the Ukraine to Germany. This was nonsense, but it possible that the pro-German officers would have had no objection to a partition of Poland based on the Curzon line.

But though all the members of this group admired Germany and some of them would have liked an understanding between Russia and Germany which would have "given" Europe to Germany and Asia to Russia, this does not mean that they had actually con-

spired to realise their ambition. On the contrary, they had no intention of doing so, but there were other and more personal objections to the group which proved fatal.

Marshal Tukhachevsky, a man of some brilliance, had always despised Marshal Voroshiloff and had no great opinion of Stalin himself. This personal rivalry went back to the time of the civil wars. In 1919 Tukhachevsky was defending Moscow against the advancing White army under Denikin. The White forces were very near; they were already in Tula and Orel. The situation was desperate, but in spite of this a large Red force was held at Tsaritsin under the young Voroshiloff. After the war Tukhachevsky, in an article published in a military review, criticised the strategy of defending Tsaritsin instead of rushing the Red troops to the defence of Moscow. But the political commissar in Tsaritsin, who was really responsible, was Josef Djugashvili, now known as Stalin. It should be added, as a footnote, that Tsaritsin is now called Stalingrad. . . .

That, however, was the whole case against the eight generals. They were not Trotskyists, though they had a natural respect for the former leader and creator of the Red Army. . . . But the combination of circumstances was fatal. Tukhachevsky and his friends knew, through their own spies, that they had been branded as "Trotskyists, pro-German, and anti-Stalin." They knew by experience what followed such charges. A rebellion against Stalin offered the only hope of self-preservation. With this knowledge they almost certainly began to conspire, but it was then too late.

The rest of the purge is quite separate from and unconnected with the army conspiracy. The industrial situation in Russia is bad, efficiency low, and production wasteful. The Soviet rulers find it easier to blame this on "enemies" who can be denounced, dismissed, and shot than on causes which cannot be got rid of at once. It is interesting, however, that among those shot was Fleischmann, the man who was responsible for the production of military material. The purge is far from an end. . . .

The Manchester Guardian.

THE CULTURAL BAROMETER

By V. F. CALVERTON

IT IS exceedingly right and proper, as Robert Benchley would say (or is it Walter Winchell?), to write about one country while you are in another. Never write about the country you are in, said another American humorist, or you'll lose all perspective the minute you set pen to paper, or rather, these days, fingers to typewriter. In this connection, it is amusing to note that the Guggenheim Foundation scholarships had such a peculiar ruling not so many years ago that American writers who won them often found themselves in such an embarrassing situation that frequently they had to sacrifice sense and sensibility to fulfill their demands. Walter White, for example, the well known Negro author, who was determined to write a book about lynching, had to go to Europe, despite the fact that the best way to write it would be in the South, according to the circumscriptions of the Guggenheim Foundation. Consequently, the best book on lynching in America, *Rope and Faggot*, was written in Paris, or at least very near it, and not in the United States.

For these and divers reasons, I have no hesitation in writing about Canada while in England, and especially not when I plan discussing England before I conclude this article.

Canada: A Conundrum

What led me to want to discuss Canada from a cultural point of view was André Siegfried's recent book, *Canada*, which purports to be an analysis of the Canadian situation in the light of the most recent developments which have taken place in that country. As an admirer of Mr. Siegfried's earlier volume, *America Comes of Age*, I was extremely disappointed in this study, which in so many ways fails to do justice

to the Canadian problem, and certainly fails to view it in terms of a progressive cultural outlook upon society. It is curious how Frenchmen, alert and acute when it comes to interpreting countries which bear no relationship to France, become bogged up and confused when they examine peoples and nations which bear something of the stamp of French heritage upon them. Mr. Siegfried's attitude toward Canada is as sentimental as Stuart Chase's toward Mexico. Mr. Chase, one of America's superlative journalists, went to Mexico and beheld Mexican handicraft in its native form and became so enraptured with it that he dedicated a large part of his book to extolling its virtues and wonders, neglecting at the same time the social and cultural implications underlying the nature of the society producing it. Mr. Siegfried went to Canada, and as a Frenchman became so enthralled by the quiet simplicity of French-Canadian life, the continuity of tradition inherent in it, the close-knit sentimentality governing it, that he forgot everything else: the ignorance, the stupidity, the ecclesiastical domination, the social backwardness, which are the corollaries of that form of existence. The result is that Mr. Siegfried's *Canada* is a study concerned with the retrogressive instead of the progressive cultural tendencies dominant in Canada today.

Having traveled from Montreal to Vancouver several times, stopping at various points *en route* for stays of divers lengths, and having visited a number of Canadian cities more than a few times, I have no hesitation in saying that my experiences in Canada have led me to conclusions which contradict those drawn by Mr. Siegfried. The amazing and paradoxical aspect of it all is that Mr. Siegfried, in most of his previous books, has taken a markedly pro-

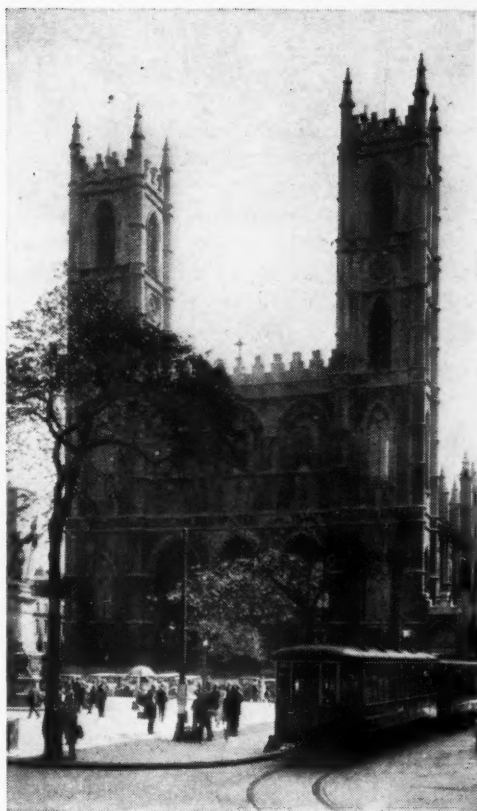
gressive stand on most important issues. The only way to explain his unmitigatedly reactionary attitude on the Canadian question is in terms of French nationalism and Latin sentimentality with its irrepressible nostalgia for the old, the quaint, the picturesque. To preserve those virtues, Mr. Siegfried is willing to sacrifice education, social advance, and cultural progress. He is not only content but is eager to keep education in the hands of the Catholic Church, and implicitly favors the unprogressive political tactics and techniques which have become so notorious in the Province of Quebec where most of the freedoms inherent in progressive democratic states have been infringed upon and frequently denied and suppressed.

But what is most lacking in Mr. Siegfried's book is a consideration of the cultural currents and conflicts which have been active in Canadian life for centuries now. Mr. Siegfried has practically nothing to say about Canadian literature, art, music, or the Canadian psychology in such matters. He shows in illuminating detail how decidedly the French-Canadians have "cut themselves off" from France, but he does not deal in any adequate sense with how closely the English-Canadians, culturally rather than politically speaking, have continued to be bound by English influence.

Canadian culture has not only been influenced by England; it has been dominated by it. The results of that domination still can be discovered in various forms of cultural life in Canada today. It was as a colonial literature that Canadian literature began, and like every colonial literature, including American, it suffered from intellectual inferiority, artistic imitativeness, and cultural retardation. In attempting to express itself, it was more devoted to its maternal background than to its immediate environment.

The Colonial Complex

As in the case with all colonies, the colonial environment becomes first a place upon which old traditions are fastened and not a setting in which new traditions are



Canadian Pacific Railway

CANADA'S NOTRE DAME: The great cathedral at the Place D'Armès Square, Montreal.

conceived. It is only as the colony grows away from its maternal matrix that a new tradition can arise. By that time, however, the old tradition, in language as well as in spirit, has rooted itself so deeply into the colonial culture that even that which aspires to be new is inevitably burdened with much that is old. Every colonial culture, we can say, therefore, goes through several stages of development: first, the stage of determined adaptation, in which the colonials attempt to adapt their original culture to the new environment, stressing continuity between the old and the new; second, the stage in which the colonials begin to become conscious of themselves, national-minded, as it were, and in which the new conditions have already begun to modify the old traditions to such an extent that

differences become more important than resemblances; at this point, inaugurating the third stage in the process, the struggle for freedom from the mother culture becomes apparent and revolt in favor of a national culture takes on a definite turn; in the fourth and final stage the colonial culture, if the colony grows of itself and the environment provides it with sufficient strength to sever its umbilical connections with the mother country, it manages to create a national culture of its own.

Canadian culture is still in the third stage of that evolution. It is striving hard to achieve the fourth stage, which American culture attained sometime ago, but like a number of other people, Mr. Siegfried wants to discourage such advance on the part of both the English-Canadians and the French-Canadians. In the case of the latter, he wants them to retain their present cultural backwardness, fostered as it is by the domination of the church over education, because he believes they represent an interesting offshoot of the old world transplanted in the new. He is more concerned with the preservation of that backward tradition, which has been so unproductive of cultural advance in Canada, than he is in the transformation of that tradition into something newer and more progressive. In that connection, it should be noted that progressive French-Canadians, like some of the editors of *Le Canada*, especially M. Turcotte, are definitely opposed to Mr. Siegfried's point of view. They want a French-Canadian populace which is progressive instead of retrogressive in its outlook.

In the case of the English-Canadians, Mr. Siegfried is eager to see them remain in their present stage of cultural evolution, with England dictating their cultural tastes, conceptions, and outlooks, rather than develop, as the United States has done, tastes, conceptions, and outlooks of its own.

In both cases, Mr. Siegfried takes his stand on the side of reaction instead of progress.

For centuries, English Canadians were sycophantically emulative of England,

with the result that their creative energies were throttled and their cultural stature truncated. In July, 1823, for example, in the *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*, the editor declared that the aim of the magazine was to aid "in keeping alive the heroic and energetic sentiments of our (English) ancestors." As Ray Palmer Baker in his *History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation* stated, the literature itself bore out this influence in irrefragable detail. Later on in the nineteenth century, we discover such writers as Roberts, Johnson, Saunders, and Carman becoming national-minded and showing more concern for their native environment than for that of England. They found their inspiration, as Dr. Logan has indicated, in his *Highways of Canadian Literature*, "in the natural beauty and sublimity of their country and the lives of their compatriots. In short, their literary conspectus is thoroughly Canadian; and their inspiration and ideals too are Canadian." With the coming of the Confederation, Canadian culture entered the third stage of the colonial process, in which revolt in favor of a national literature became insistent. It was at this time that the slogan "Canada first" became popular. "It is Canada for the Canadian," Bernard Muddemain declared at this time, "and the immigrant as a literary force is past. A native literature is arising."

But despite that protest, and the many evidences of change which accompanied it, Canadian culture has not yet become Canadian in its own right, as American culture, for instance, has become American. Canadian literature or Canadian art, for example, have never developed the national individuality and spiritual autonomy of American literature and art. Cultural progress for Canada is to be found in encouraging, not discouraging, as Mr. Siegfried does, such independence and individuality.

The Mexican Scene

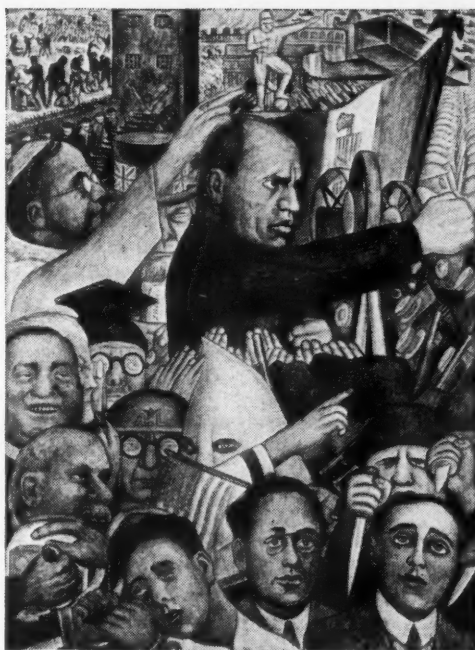
Turning away from Canada to Mexico, we are confronted with an entirely different situation. Mexico, despite its economic

backwardness, has made such rapid strides in cultural advance because it has emancipated itself from foreign influence and domination. Although economically Mexico is practically owned by aliens—over 90 per cent of Mexico's economic resources is controlled by American and European capital—Mexican culture suffers from no such handicap today.

For centuries Spanish and French influence predominated in Mexico, but within the last generation those influences have lost their sway over the nation. In its fight for cultural autonomy, Mexico has turned back to the Indian for its inspiration. The Indian, who is the purest of all Mexicans, has become the cultural matrix of the new Mexico. Mexico's two greatest painters, and two of the greatest painters in the world today, Rivera and Orozco, have made the Indian the central theme in their major works. The Indian to them has come to symbolize Mexico in its most indigenous and most challenging form. Out of the Indian's struggle for independence they envision the birth of a new and free Mexico.

But it is not only in painting that this re-orientation has occurred. In every other form of culture the same emphasis is manifest. In music, Chavez, the leading Mexican composer, has turned to Indian themes in many of his works, as also have almost all the other contemporary Mexican composers. In the dance, a similar evolution has occurred. Mexicans today are not only deeply concerned with reviving old Mayan and Aztec dances, which constitute a considerable part of their new cultural interest, but even their new dances are based upon current Indian themes. Mexican novels are no exception; they have followed the same pattern, cultivated the same *motif*. As a matter of fact, it is no exaggeration to say that the Indian, in the new Mexico of the last few decades, has become apotheosized—just as the worker has become apotheosized in Soviet Russia.

In the schools, for instance, where socialist education is being introduced, it is the Indian theme again that is stressed, and on the murals and in the textbooks it



MEXICAN COMMENTARY: *This recent painting by Diego Rivera has been the subject of considerable controversy. Although the figures are not named they bear strong resemblance to many who are prominent in national and world politics.*

is the Indian who carries aloft, in the highways and byways of the new Mexico, the torch of the future. Under Calles' rule and now under that of Cardenas, the state devotes large subsidies to the cultivation of this new Mexican culture. Socialist education, which, in the main, is socialist only in name, has as its chief purpose the emancipation of the Indian from the cultural backwardness which has been his lot in the past. To make him literate, to free his education from the control of the ecclesiastics, to teach him to work out a new and more progressive form of existence—these are the objectives of Mexican socialist education which is part of the new Mexican culture.

These objectives, as is obvious, are the opposite to those advocated by Mr. Siegfried in connection with the French-Canadians. "The most important influence exerted by the Church lies in education," Mr.

Siegfried asserts, commenting with enthusiasm upon the French-Canadian educational scheme, "which, from the primary to the superior schools, and even to the universities, is entirely in its hands. Above all it maintains its spiritual discipline over every phase of the life of the people, be it private or family, social, political, or economic. No aspect of their existence escapes its control. This priestly supervision has been able to be effective for so long a time only because it has kept the French-Canadians completely immune from external influence. They have been kept free from contact with any ideas which might be considered dangerous germs." It is just this fact which progressive French-Canadians lament rather than laud.

The Mexicans, denying Mr. Siegfried's thesis, believe that educational progress is possible only when education is taken out of the hands of the ecclesiastics and given over to the civil state, as is the case in England, France, and the United States. It is that belief, plus the struggle over control of church property, which underlies the fight between the Mexican government and the Church today. The Mexicans are not opposed to Catholicism as a religion; they are opposed to its educational intolrances and its propertied controls, and they believe that cultural progress is possible only when the Church is not allowed to interfere with education or politics and is forced to confine its activities to religion.

Americanization in England

Skiping now to England, where I happen to be at the present time, the first thing that is bound to strike an American who is interested in the cultural developments of both countries is the dearth of good English plays and the overwhelming predominance of American films. No matter where you turn, on Oxford street, in Piccadilly, or on the Strand, Hollywood celeb-

rities stare you in the face: Fred Astaire, Ginger Rogers, Spencer Tracy, Franchot Tone, Claudette Colbert, Irene Dunne, and a host of others. Hollywood has swamped London with its wares. And this, I understand, is no new phenomenon. It is an accepted fact by now.

It is a curious commentary on the two countries and their cultural relationships in the past to discover this reversal of influence. Prior to the twentieth century nothing in America was considered good unless it had the stamp of England upon it, whereas in England there was little that was considered good if it had the stamp of America upon it. Today America reveres its own things and no longer looks up to English things, and England in many fields besides the cinema is forced to respect American things even more than its own.

In the novel as well as the cinema, America has superseded England in creative energy and achievement. Aside from its older writers: Wells, Shaw, Barrie, Maugham, and that ilk, England's younger generation has produced few fiction writers of outstanding distinction since the War. Aldous Huxley is the main English contribution. America, on the other hand, has produced Sinclair Lewis, John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Wolfe, William Faulkner, James T. Farrell, most of them still young men with their best work ahead of them. It is gratifying to walk about in English bookstores and see how conspicuously the works of these younger American authors are displayed.

England at last is waking up to the significance of American culture. Up to a short while ago, most Englishmen considered American culture a barbarous extension of British, but today there is a clear-out realization in England that the United States has developed a culture of its own, which has a significance and challenge of its own, and can no more be ignored than French or German culture.

THE REALM OF SCIENCE

BIGGER and better trees, in particular faster growing trees, constitute the first aim of a new research project just launched at Harvard University. What the ultimate accomplishment may be, as the decades roll by, only time can tell. It is not fantastic to imagine that the next century may regard the start of this project as we now regard the original experiments with the steam engine or the early electrical experiments of Faraday, Henry, and the other electrical pioneers.

The new researches have been made possible by Maria Moors Cabot Foundation for Botanical Research, a fund of \$615,773 given to Harvard by a member of the class of 1882, Dr. Godfrey L. Cabot of Boston. Specifically, the purpose of the gift is to investigate methods of increasing the growth of plants, especially trees, and the rate at which they manufacture cellulose and other substances valuable to mankind with the energy of sunlight.

Two considerations led Dr. Cabot to make his gift. One was the great success which has been obtained in improving the vigor, hardiness, and productivity of food plants and of domestic animals by scientific selection and by hybridization. The other was that modern civilization was making increased demands, not only for timber, but for wood pulp, as the raw material for the manufacture of paper, rayon, and other cellulose products.

Dr. Cabot was also aware that as time went on, the problem of finding substitutes for the world's waning supply of oil and coal would grow increasingly more pressing.

There are three possible answers to that problem. One is to employ the energy of sunlight directly to generate steam as in the solar engine invented by Dr. Charles G. Abbot of the Smithsonian Institution, and on display this summer at the Great Lakes

Exposition in Cleveland, Ohio. The second is that sunlight might be employed directly to generate electricity through some form of photo-electric cell. The third possibility is to employ sunlight as it is employed by plants.

Growing plants, with the aid of the green pigment known as chlorophyll, use the energy of sunlight to convert the carbon dioxide of the air and the water of the soil into the sugars and starches of their tissues. Two decades ago, the late Dr. E. E. Slosson summed up the situation when he exclaimed, "If we only knew as much chemistry as a tree." Perhaps the new researches at Harvard will accomplish Dr. Slosson's wish in time.

In recent years, chemists have made great strides in understanding the chemical nature of chlorophyll. Among the leaders in this undertaking was Dr. James B. Conant, who gave up his laboratory studies to accept the presidency of Harvard.

Dr. Elmer D. Merrill, administrator of the botanical collections of Harvard University, points out that no studies have ever been made on trees comparable to the breeding experiments carried on with food crops and domestic animals.

"This is in part due to the baffling complexities involved in breeding improved strains of plants with such a long life span as trees," Dr. Merrill states, "and in part to the fact that mankind has hitherto been able to rely largely on wild forests for timber and cellulose. It is only in the past 150 years that Europe has used intensive forest culture, and only in the past generation that America has made a beginning in that direction. As, however, only about 15 per cent of the forests of the world are under scientific cultivation and the rest are being threatened by destructive exploitation, the danger to the world's future supply of wood and cellulose is apparent.

"One important and promising solution of the problem lies in improving strains of trees used in the cultivated forests and it is on that aspect of the problem that Harvard is now enabled to launch a significant research program through the generous gift of Dr. Cabot.

"Men have often dreamed of building engines to use the primal source of energy, solar radiation, forgetting that in the living plant nature has already provided us with a marvelous mechanism for that purpose. But what can we do to increase the production of plants which store this energy? Obviously, there are fixed limits to the number of plants that can be grown per acre. The possible answer must be sought in producing plants that grow more rapidly, either because of their inherent genetic qualities or because of improved soils."

Financing Cancer Research

Among the largest of this summer's gifts to academic institutions was the \$10,000,000 to Yale University to finance cancer research. Originally announced as an anonymous gift, the fund was later traced to the generosity of Starling W. Childs, New York banker. The fund is to be known as the Jane Coffin Childs Memorial Fund for Scientific Research.

His benefaction comes at a time when many eminent authorities are greatly worried about the cancer problem. Typical of the view of many observers is the opinion expressed by Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, consulting statistician of the Biochemical Foundation of the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia.

Cancer, in the opinion of Dr. Hoffman, is on the increase while medical research on the subject, in his opinion, is in a state of confusion. Different authorities are investigating different lines of research and there seems no way of reconciling divergent points of view or drawing common conclusions from the work.

Only three methods of treating cancer are known—surgery, x-rays, and radium. All three depend for success upon an early diagnosis of the cancer. This is compara-

tively simple when the cancer is on the skin or in some easily accessible portion of the body. It is practically impossible when the cancer is in the stomach or some other portion of the body where it most often gives no sign of its presence until it is too late to cope with it.

Statistics, Dr. Hoffman says, show that in the U.S. registration area, the death-rate from cancer per 100,000 of population was 81.6 in the period from 1916 to 1920. It was 89 in 1921-25. It was 96 in 1926-30 and 103.6 in 1931-35.

Future of Medicine

The gifts for research to Harvard and Yale indicate the close relationship of scientific progress to the state of the social order. In the past, research has been financed chiefly by such gifts. Outstanding in scientific research have been such great endowments as the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Foundation.

This question as it relates to the future of medicine was discussed by Dr. Charles Gordon Heyd of New York, retiring president of the American Medical Association, when that organization held its annual convention at Atlantic City.

The hospital system of the nation, Dr. Heyd says, is faced with reduced income from its investments and at the same time is unable to discern any new givers of large funds.

"This means that support will have to come increasingly from the Federal Government," he told his fellow doctors at the convention. "This will certainly entail political control of the greatest source of medical practise."

The House of Delegates, governing body of the A.M.A., long opposed to all attempts at the socialization of medicine, nevertheless voted its willingness to confer with the Federal Government in working out a plan of bringing medical care to the indigent.

Many authorities think that the future will see the development of some sort of official state medicine. They think that side by side with the private practise of medicine will be set up some sort of Federal medical

service to meet the needs of those who are to be classed as "medically indigent."

Ambrose Swasey's Death

Ambrose Swasey liked to quote the line carved upon the tombstone of his old friend, John A. Brashear, the pioneer telescope maker: "I have loved the stars too truly to be fearful of the night." That, he would say, expressed his attitude toward death.

On June 16, 1937, at the age of 90, Mr. Swasey passed into that night which held no fear for him. Endowed by nature with a strong body and a keen mind, he had been in fine health up until the final illness, a bad cold which turned into pneumonia.

On his 90th birthday, he spent the day talking and joking with friends. A year previously, his 89th birthday had been made the occasion for showing the just completed 82-inch telescope to some 200 of his friends at the Warner & Swasey Co. plant in Cleveland. Mr. Swasey surprised everyone by rising at the luncheon and making an excellent speech in a loud, clear voice.

Born in Exeter, N. H., Mr. Swasey and his partner, the late W. R. Warner, came to Cleveland in 1881 to found the Warner & Swasey Co. They specialized in machine tools and big telescopes. Mr. Swasey used to say jokingly that they obtained their income from machine tools and their fame from telescopes.

Telescopes made by Warner & Swasey include the 26-inch telescope of the U. S. Naval Observatory, the 36-inch telescope at the Lick Observatory, the 40-inch telescope at the Yerkes Observatory, still the largest refractor in the world. More recent tele-

scopes by Warner & Swasey are all reflectors, the 69-inch one at Ohio Wesleyan University, the 72-inch one at the Dominion Astrophysical Observatory of Canada, and the 82-inch one which will go into operation this summer at the new observatory of the University of Texas.

Disease Against Disease

Forest rangers fight fire with fire. Recently, medical men have been learning the trick of fighting disease with disease. From Europe came news of the discovery that general paresis, a form of insanity due to syphilis, could be checked with malaria. The fever of malaria kills the pale cork-screw-like germs of syphilis, the so-called spirochetes.

Now Dr. Philip S. Hench of the Mayo Clinic reports a series of cases in which the progress of chronic arthritis was halted when the patients developed jaundice. Medical men are hoping that this may be an important clew to the treatment of arthritis.

Uses of Sulfanilamide

The Atlantic City convention of the American Medical Association was in the nature of a triumph for the new drug, sulfanilamide, also known as prontosil. This is the drug which was used to treat President Roosevelt's son when his life was endangered by a septic sore throat.

A large number of eminent medical men reported the successful use of sulfanilamide in the treatment of a considerable variety of infections. It cannot, however, be used indiscriminately for all infections.

DAVID DIETZ

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LAW

MAJOR JOHN PITCAIRN was born in Scotland and, aged 35, was killed by a Negro soldier among the defenders of Breed's Hill. Three charges up the hill had been rolled back disastrously. Pitcairn was out in front in the fourth—and successful—assault; he proved his mettle, but there was mourning when the news of the promising young man's demise reached his folks in Fifeshire.

Our school histories do not have space to commemorate his courage to any great extent, but, if it be true that he was not a famous hero, he was nevertheless a loyal soldier of the King, quite as much, say, as Lord Jeffrey Amherst. He exhibited this quality on various occasions during his seven-year tour of duty at Boston. Only a few weeks prior to his untimely death he was in charge of the advance guard of an expedition dispatched into the country to capture certain gentlemen conspiring treason and to confiscate a store of munitions before somebody should get hurt.

What must have been his astonishment at the audacity of the three-score armed villagers and farmers he found on reaching the little town of Lexington, drawn up in line of battle on the common, to dispute the progress of his detachment. Obeying his first impulse he shouted to the menacing rank, "Disperse, ye rebels!"

The immediately ensuing *res gestae* are in dispute. The testimony of Pitcairn was that the first shot came from the Minute Men. Whatever the truth may have been, the fact is that, in a trice, eight Americans were crumpled on the green and the rest had fled. The force of Regulars marched on up the road to Concord, whence, like the King of France, it later marched down again, somewhat precipitately.

You Can't Stand There

Change the scene to a vacant field adjoin-

ing a modern-day industrial area. Commute Redcoats for Bluecoats. Let them form in line of battle across the space, to dispute the progress, this time, of a column of striking workers, accompanied by families, sympathizers, and visiting strikers from out of town. Banners flying, they propose to disregard the obstacle presented by the police line; one among the leading elements begins to expostulate with the captain of police, explaining their right to parade on the street beyond. The hard-pressed captain shouts to the menacing column, "I command you in the name of the law to disperse!"

Again the immediate sequel is in dispute. Once more eight Americans are crumpled on the green, and many others badly mangled, some to die later.

Amid the welter of epithets engendered by grief, anger, hysteria, propaganda, malice, or plain revulsion, it is hard to reach a detached, unbiased judgment. One thought constantly reasserts itself: that respect for the law and its ministers of high and low degree is all that separates democracy from anarchy, and the realm from rebellion. That is why all parties to a great dispute, to retain the sympathetic interest of the general public, must obey the process and judgments of the courts, comply with statutes, and even respect police regulations. If the last are regarded as unreasonable, one does not quarrel with the policeman; if unable to obtain redress from the authorities, it were better to explain to a court before undertaking direct action than to have to tell it to the judge afterward. Ministers of the law, grand and petty, must, likewise, respect the law, remembering that we have come a long way along the path of democratic government since it was possible for a President to say "John Marshall has given his opinion; now let him enforce it." The survival of

our institutions today may well be due to the subsequent vindication of the decision handed down on that occasion by Marshall and his colleagues on the Supreme Court.

The provocation may be very great, but the principle must hold. In a California town a mob mills all night around the jail awaiting the internment there of the perpetrator of a horrible, pitiful crime against three small children. No gentle reception lies in store for the criminal idiot. Yet at the peak of the excitement and public rage, the bereaved father of one child has the courage to say, "Let the law take its course."

Not only the bluecoats, but the organized militia also is facing novel problems in discipline today. It is announced by union spokesmen that any union member who is also a member of a National Guard unit called out for strike duty automatically is dropped from the union. This dictum recalls the famous sentence of Chief Justice Mansfield: "It is, therefore, highly important that the mistake should be corrected, which supposes that an Englishman, by taking upon him the additional character of a soldier, puts off any of the rights and duties of an Englishman." For this new announcement, made doubtless from the best of motives, may tend to unsettle the serenity of young labor-union men who also take the larger responsibilities of citizenship seriously enough to enlist in the Guard. While on duty, the guardsman must exercise impartial obedience, under the eyes of courts martial, and it is a serious thing to tamper with the *esprit* which makes it possible for him to do so. It is just as unbecoming for him to waver in his path as it would be for an active officer of the Army or Navy to participate too strenuously in polemics against the Government he serves. For both militiaman and professional soldier the touchstones of duty, honor, country are the same. It is not enough for either to say he has not broken any prescribed regulations; he must observe the spirit also.

The letter of the law, of course, governs primarily, and it might even not be *contra bonos mores* to take advantage of plain

omissions in statutes. It is only when an undue advantage is taken of legislative discrepancies that the spirit of the law has been violated. This is what a joking Congressman meant when he said that the loopholes in the law, after certain tax avoiders jumped through them, didn't look like holes any more. To deserve respect, however, the law must not compete with a Swiss cheese, for every loophole creates a special privilege available only to perspicacious or fortunately situated citizens.

Moral Values in Law

Among the imperfections of our legal system is the suddenness of its tergiversations. Captains of finance, conserving their money through holding company devices declared to be perfectly legal, overnight become malefactors of great wealth. At the other end of the scale, burlesque artistes who one day are credited with having created a new native art, the next day are banished from the stage by law. Mutuality would seem to demand that if, on the one hand, wholehearted respect for law is exacted from the people, on the other hand the law and its enforcement must be humane and universal in applicability.

The same idea pervades the law of nations, although perhaps more honored in the breach. If municipal police are sometimes accused of overenthusiasm in suppressing riots, the same may be said of the degree of violence sometimes employed to inflict lawful international reprisals, as in the recent Almeria incident. In *The Army and the Law*, Professor Glenn observes: "The severities practiced by the Germans in 1870 for violations of this rule [against *franc tireurs*] by French civilians, are notorious enough. But the Germans were correct in their propositions of law; the only trouble with them was that then, as again in 1914, they showed themselves unfit ministers of justice. Under color of law they exhibited a spirit of cruelty incompatible with all theories of sanction." Candor compels it to be said, however, that here too the emotional penumbra that adheres to any discussion of this topic distorts the per-

spective and renders it difficult to find the golden mean of reprisals administered *vi et armis* yet *moliter*.

The law of reprisals is accepted on this side of the Atlantic also. Thus the *Codification of American International Law*, in Project No. 29, "Measures of Repression," pp. 116, 117, provides:

Article 8. Reprisals. Reprisals consist in any act or measure undertaken for the purpose of obtaining directly or indirectly, reparation for the illegal conduct of another nation. . . .

As the use of force against any American Republic is a matter of concern to all the Republics of the continent, any Republic against which an attempt is made to enforce any one of the above mentioned measures should immediately notify the Pan American Union in order that the governing board thereof may consider the matter and take such action as it may deem advisable.

Reprisals from overseas against American nations, however, are frowned upon, as may be surmised from this passage from Stowell and Munro, *International Cases*, II, p. 10:

The landing of European forces on American soil and the drastic manner in which the German commander had sunk the Venezuelan vessels caused no little excitement in the United States, while in Great Britain the Government was freely criticized for endangering the cordial relations with the United States by its association with Germany in coercing an American state. The delicacy of the situation made particularly valuable the friendly offices of the United States.

The curious international law of reprisals, like other current precepts of this enlightened world which are being put to new tests in Spain, has a nostalgic quality,

recalling the good old pre-Norman days of self-help in law enforcement, or the days when a hit-and-rumble-off oxcart driver who killed a pedestrian was forced to deliver *deodand*. In Spain, in those days, foundations were being laid for the mystic cast characteristic of Spanish law and administration for half a millennium after. King Alfonso the Wise in 1251 began work on his classic code of law called *Las Siete Partidas*, or the Law of the Seven Parts. The parts themselves are logically enough arranged, treating respectively (1) the Catholic Faith, (2) Emperor, Kings and other Grandees, (3) Justice, Judges and Trials, (4) Betrothal, Matrimony and Legitimate Issue, Other Issue, Parental Power, Vassalage and Feuds, (5) Contracts, including loans, donations, purchases, sales, exchanges, hiring, renting, merchants, markets, fairs, carriage, obligations, pawn, fiduciaries, payment, and all the other suits and proceedings between men, (6) Testaments, Codicils, Inheritances, Guardianship, and (7) Crime and its Suppression. The curious thing about the code, which was seven years in the making, is the reason assigned for the selection of the name and the division into seven parts. In the preface the King explains that it flows from the rule of seven, which he says is highly honored, and he illustrates with twice seven examples.

It is from such roots that our law as it exists today has been developed by slow and painful stages. Loyal deference to the law is more important to each successive generation. Whenever it seems that too headlong "We spur to a land of no name, outracing the stormwind," at least we have a chance to maintain a balance in our seats if we adhere to the rule of head and heart high, hands and heels low.

GUERRA EVERETT

ON THE RELIGIOUS HORIZON

JUNE first and June thirtieth found German religious news in the headlines. Hardly a day intervened without some notice of new developments on the Church-State front in the land of the Third Reich. When one reviews the historical background of the present German situation, one is not at all surprised to find that religious history is "in the making" in Germany.

Was not the invasion of the Roman Empire by Germanic tribes the final blow to the Empire? And who will deny that the fall of imperial Rome enabled the Roman Church, with its genius for organization, to rise to and assume undreamed of importance, culminating in the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire. And it is common knowledge that Germanic kings were for long periods "Roman Emperors," one of them, Otto the Great, even going so far as to journey to Rome in 963, depose a Pope whom he considered corrupt and appoint another, forcing the Romans to promise never to elect a Pope without the Emperor's consent and approval.

Did not German missionaries convert Wends, Poles, Prussians, and Hungarians, and organize them under German bishops and archbishops in the Catholic faith? The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a new type of theology developed in Germany—the mystical—seeking to know God by direct intuition, through contemplation and feeling, the illumination of the spirit. Deeply affected by this "new approach to God," the masses were organized into "lay brotherhoods."

The world is also indebted to Germany for much of the real driving force of the reformation. John Huss, as a forerunner, and Martin Luther, as the actual reformer, are but two of the outstanding contributors to this great movement, the ultimate result of which, in Germany, was the foundation

of the Reformed (Calvinistic) and the Lutheran Churches. These continued until 1817, when they were united at the Reformation Jubilee in Hesse-Nassau and Prussia (union in the Palatinate 1818, Baden 1821, Hesse 1823, etc.). This "Evangelical Church," as it is still called, was opposed from the start, especially by the Lutherans. Both the Evangelical Church and the Catholic Church have in Germany what may be termed a "dual personality" that is, they are not only religious bodies, but they also act as political organizations. The most influential political party in Germany for many years has been the Catholic, or Centrist, group, which, while not comprising a majority in itself, yet has controlled enough votes to swing almost any election the way it wanted to.

This powerful political group, owning allegiance to the Papacy, is one of the factors which Herr Hitler and his Nazi colleagues have to contend with in their efforts to develop a united Germany, all parts of which (and all of each individual part) they feel must be entirely subordinate to the state. The failure of the Papacy to take any definite and vigorous stand on behalf of these adherents led to the "coup of 1933."

The Evangelicals (or Confessional Churches, as they are also classified) are divided as to their attitude toward the control of the Church by the state. Those who originally were members of the Reformed Church continue to hold to the theocratic ideals of Calvin, and thus are unalterably opposed to any dominance of the state over Church affairs. The Lutheran part of the Evangelical Church, on the other hand, has been content to have the government supervise the activities of the Church, so long as they were permitted to conduct their services and to enjoy the financial support of the state. (Both the Catholic and the

Evangelical Churches have been up to the present moment supported in the main by government subsidy.)

The Jewish problem is a third factor in the complicated picture of Germany, as viewed from a religious standpoint. The Jews have been called by one of their own number "the most completely urbanized" people in the world. Studious, industrious, acquisitive, the Hebrews in Germany during the World War and in the years immediately following were prominent in the financial and professional field. Careers in the Army and the Navy (outlawed by the Treaties of 1918) being no longer open to scions of the leading families in Germany, they naturally turned to other fields of endeavour. Finding that they were unable to compete with their more experienced Jewish competitors, the Germans decided to do something about it. The outbreak of a nation-wide pogrom was the result. This, it seems, was the spark which ignited the powder-barrel of opposition between the Nazi ideal of the super-state and the Jewish philosophy of life and government, which places all of creation under the direction of God and His laws.

The German Faith Movement

A fourth factor which looms large on the religious horizon of Germany is the new German Faith Movement. Tracing its origins back to the early part of the nineteenth century we find the Germanic Church, which proposed that Christianity be absolved from all Jewish, Old Testament, Pauline, and Lutheran—in a word, all foreign—influence. Claiming that Jesus was an Aryan, the interdenominational German Reich Church would preach "the dignity of man, the love at the heart of the Gospels, the Fatherhood of God, and the natural manhood and wisdom of Jesus the teacher." Mathilde Ludendorff, who became a leader in this movement, broke with Christianity and sought to base the new German Belief In God "on a pantheism which conceived God as expressing himself differently in different race groups according to their different natures." According to Hermann Wirth,

the *Hakenkreuz*, or swastika, is simply the symbolic quintessence of the original ancient Nordic faith, "a spiritual derivative from close primitive biological contact with nature."

Thus we find three groups, the Jews, the Calvinistic part of the Evangelical Church, and the Roman Catholic Church (represented politically by the Centrist and the Bavarian People's parties) opposed to the Hitler movement and as a consequence making themselves anathema to the Nazi officials. It is not strange, therefore, to read of the various steps which the Nazi Government is taking in order to achieve its avowed purpose of claiming the undivided and unadulterated loyalty of every German man, woman, and child.

In view of this, we can understand the attitude of official Nazidom (whether we approve its methods or not). Faced with the antithetical philosophy of Judaism, Nazidom decides to "liquidate" the Jews. It is to be noted that persecution of Jews in Germany is not a religious one—that is, Jewish worship has not been interfered with. The economic and social restrictions placed on Hebrews, on the other hand, bid well to devitalize the so-called "foreign" influence of these "non-Aryans." There were no notices of any new or startling developments in Nazi anti-Semitism during the month.

Preparing for Church Elections

Having tried vainly to consolidate the Confessional Churches with their neo-pagan German Faith Movement on June 30, Herr Hitler and his Church Minister Hans Kerrl prohibited all reference to or campaigning for the coming Church elections until the Government sets the date and issues instructions. Furthermore, a second order creates a centralized system of finance boards under Dr. Kerrl to administer Church funds throughout Germany. No Bishop, synod, or local church council will be permitted to administer any Church funds except with permission and under supervision of the Minister's boards. Already on June 16 Dr. Wilhelm Frick, Min-

ister of the Interior, had issued a decree making it a crime to contribute money to the Confessional Synod or any other organization within the Protestant Church not specifically approved by Hans Kerrl, the Minister for Church Affairs.

Progressive reductions of the public funds that are paid under existing treaties to both the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Bavaria was announced on June 27. Presumably, after a three-year period, these appropriations will be discontinued entirely.

Earlier in the month, the Superior Prussian Court had decided that Churches can receive no protection from the courts against secret political police action, taken "in the interests of state security." This opinion is evidently a blanket ruling to cover not only house searches without warrants, but arrests and imprisonment of pastors in concentration camps or their expulsion from their parishes. A special wireless to *The New York Times*, under a June 27 date-line, states that "all members of the Prussian Confessional Synod with the single exception of the Rev. Martin Niemöller . . . have now been arrested." Fifty-two of the 108 pastors arrested during the few weeks preceding this notice were still in prison on June 28, undergoing examination by the secret police or awaiting trial. Nazi officials deny that these wholesale arrests are in preparation for a "surprise poll" in the postponed Church elections. It would be a great advantage, if the elections were called suddenly, to have all the leaders under arrest at the time.

To date nearly two hundred convictions have been registered in the series of Catholic immorality trials. Of these the larger part have been lay brothers. On June 20 the Pope held an extended conference with 11 Cardinals to give them a report on recent developments in Germany, to submit to them the White Book the Vatican has pre-

pared, and to decide what to do when and if Germany decides to end diplomatic relations with the Vatican. The only decision made was to publish to the world the White Book if further measures of the German Government make this step necessary.

During June, 966 parochial institutions in Bavaria were secularized. The dissolution decree is a direct and unquestioned breach of the Concordat with the Vatican, which guaranteed the continued existence of the Catholic schools. What steps the Vatican will take are not yet known. It is reported that Pope Pius and Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State, differ as to procedure, the Cardinal favoring vigorous action and the Holy Father advocating a policy of moderation.

America Protests

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, through the Rev. Dr. Charles S. Macfarland and its executive committee, attacked the Nazi Government for its refusal to allow German delegates to attend the World Conference of the Churches on Church, State and Community in Oxford in July. The resolution closed with the following words:

We bear upon our hearts the burden which is upon our fellow Christians under the shadow of persecution and gross misrepresentation. We associate ourselves with their sufferings. We long for the day when the mighty Christian tradition of the true Germany shall once more be free to express itself affirmatively in the life of the churches, in their world-wide community of interest as witnesses to the eternal primacy of Christ's leadership and the inalienable right of the individual conscience as set forth historically by Martin Luther, who obeyed God rather than man.

REV. WILLIAM B. SHARP

☆ THEY SAY ☆

*Translations and quotations
from the press of the world*

Hitler Over Bilbao

THE battle for Bilbao was fought in London. In Bilbao itself we felt peculiarly helpless. There was the Line, the Iron Belt, the "Centuron," but whether that held everyone felt did not depend primarily upon the Basque defence, but upon the forces that Germany and Italy would be allowed to bring to Spain.

In Bilbao one could watch day by day the slow strangulation of the Basque Republic, not by General Franco's troops but by the Non-Intervention Committee in London. Since the sinking of the rebel battleship *España*, it would have been quite possible to bring in arms from abroad by sea; and, indeed, while I was there a small Spanish Government ship did manage to slip through from Valencia with a cargo of anti-aircraft guns. Up to that date there was for the defence of the town of Bilbao one anti-aircraft gun—not one battery, just one gun—and even that was quite out of date and always breaking down. Five or six modern anti-aircraft guns might not have prevented Bilbao being bombed, but they would at least have kept the rebel planes at a height; they would at least have prevented them from swooping down and machine-gunning the civil population, and it was the machine-gunning that probably caused the most casualties among women and children. When caught by a machine-gunning plane, if you keep absolutely still—hiding, if possible, in the shadow—you will almost certainly escape. But to teach this to old peasant women and children is difficult, and once you start running the chances are small. "My orders," a captured German pilot told me, "were to machine-gun anything moving." . . . Better,

of course, than anti-aircraft guns would have been chaser planes. . . . It was just this that could not be done. The rebels had unlimited numbers. At first we would not believe that there could be so many. When, towards the end of May, a prisoner told us that he had himself counted 144 chasers and bombers at Vittoria airport, no one believed him. Government information was that when the control system was imposed the rebel air force, though large, was not anything like large enough to allow this huge concentration at one aerodrome. Now, after having witnessed the last week's raids on Bilbao, I think that probably the prisoner was right. The Iron Line was lost because the control system, while denying a single foreign anti-aircraft gun to Bilbao, let slip through from Germany literally hundreds of planes.

The bomber used most frequently on the Basque front is now the German Heinkel III. Significantly, the first of these planes appeared a few days after the imposition of the control scheme. At the time of the bombing of Guernica, that is, at the end of April, they were still comparatively rare, and though both the mayor of the town and the parish priest to whom I spoke picked out at once the picture of a Heinkel III as having taken part, it seems that the main bombing was done by Junkers 52. By the end of May the Heinkel III had largely superseded the Junkers 52. I saw, myself, the charred fragments of a log found in the wreckage of one of those Heinkels. "April 6th," it reads, "Berlin-Rom, April 7th Rom-Sevilla." I saw a passport found in the same plane. It had been issued in Berlin to one Hans Sabotka, described as a German subject

and a "Captain." Issued on April 5th, it bears the stamp of Rome airport dated April 6th. . . . It is a measure of the German disregard for the Non-Intervention Committee that they allowed their planes to fly in Spain with such documents aboard.

In the air the Basques faced the German air force; on the ground Italian conscripts. A few days before the final attack, one of them who had strayed out of the lines, was brought in as a prisoner. He was a little confused at finding himself in Spain at all, having volunteered as a labourer in Abyssinia. He was, it appeared, a cook in one of the battalions of the celebrated "Black Arrows," the so-called mixed brigades of Italian and Spanish volunteers. His culinary practice provided an interesting commentary on the proportion of Spaniards present. The whole battalion was fed on macaroni. He had come, of course—one had grown to expect it—after the ban on volunteers. "In my boat," he said, "there were twelve hundred of us."

We sat in the Presidencia, some seven or eight of us, round a great mahogany table. There were two journalists, an important officer from the Ministry of War and two officials from the Foreign Office. On the table were a pile of documents. The prisoner looked at them: "They have taken the picture of my mother," he said. "Perhaps it is there." I shall always remember the spectacle of the Basque officials and officers searching painstakingly through the pile: "Was this it?" "No." "Was this?" "No." "Never mind, we shall find it soon; they should not have taken away the picture of your mother."

—*The New Statesman and Nation*, London.

CHAMBERLAIN'S FOREIGN POLICY

Stanley Baldwin retires in a blaze of glory. On every occasion, during the Coronation festivities, he was heartily cheered by the crowd. He owes his prestige and his authority to the manner in which he solved, last December, the dynastic and constitutional crisis. In 1926, he broke the General Strike of the workers. In 1936, he broke a strike by royalty. However, in the diplomatic field he showed neither the same courage nor the same vision. . . .

Eventually he agreed with Eden and the rest of his cabinet on some general principles: Mutual military assistance with France on the



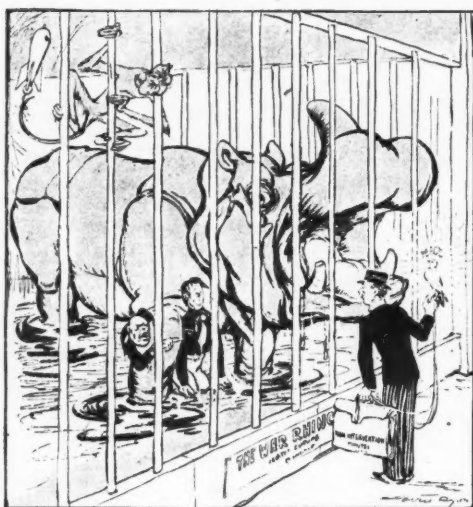
Daily Herald, London

FATHER LOVE AT GENEVA

Western frontiers, alliance with Egypt and Iraq and for the rest, immediate application of economic sanctions against any aggressor in accordance with the League of Nations Covenant.

A sweeping and bold program, one would say, taking into account the traditional empiricism of English diplomacy. But it was achieved so slowly, with so many retreats and hesitations, that it failed to produce the expected effect. British policy was only taken seriously by the World when Parliament had voted one hundred and fifty million pounds for rearmament during the next five years as a loan in addition to the sum to be derived for that purpose from normal revenues. Too late! The German war machine was already fully launched.

It was important to know whether Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the new Premier, would accept the legacy of his predecessor as is, or whether he would try to introduce some changes such as the reduction of the League of Nations obligations of Great Britain in order to render a Rhine Pact compatible with the oft-repeated German dislike for collective security and indivisible peace. However, in spite of doubts expressed in recent weeks, we know, from now on, what to expect. Neville Chamberlain has clearly stated his position to M. Delbos during the latter's Coronation visit to London. He will follow the line laid down by Baldwin and Eden, and, very probably, he will follow it with greater firmness, energy



Daily Herald, London

Give me every guarantee I won't be bitten to death by that savage and licentious bird, and I may come out and join you!

and swiftness of decision than the retiring Premier.

There will be no change on the essential point—the interdependence of Western Europe. Chamberlain made it plain to the Dominion Premiers, assembled in Imperial Conference at Downing Street, that England cannot give free rein to Pan-Germanism at the other end of Europe without facing the possibly swift rise of a Hitlerian Mitteleuropa, which certainly would not leave Britain and France in peaceful possession of their colonial domains. South Africa and Australia already know this, New Zealand will soon be convinced and Canada, in spite of her dislike for League of Nations obligations, will follow suit.

But in order to rally the Dominions themselves round the Imperial Government, the war spirit, latent in Germany, must show itself openly once again. . . .

We have good reasons to believe that the question will hinge on the XVIth Article of the Covenant. Geneva failed in its attempt to apply that article to Italian aggression and there are many people who are now inclined to think, in England, France and elsewhere, that this article has become good for nothing. However, the German statesmen are not of this opinion. They believe that the attempt in the Fall of 1935 failed only because England and France failed to throw their full weight

behind it. They can imagine quite a different state of affairs, should the two great Western democracies, supposing their main interests were directly affected, mobilize their entire power and call on all other states, large and small, to follow them. They fear that German property abroad would be seized thruout the world, German citizens expelled from foreign countries, all relations with the Reich broken, with worse things to follow. . . .

It is, then, Article XVI of Geneva, or what is known in Paris, London, Moscow and Praha as the organization of Peace, that will be the chief object in the diplomatic game—so fraught with consequences for Europe—which is about to open.

—Pertinax in *Courier des Etats-Unis*, New York.

GREATER DUPLICITY

It would appear that in the present negotiations with Germany the French Government is not prepared to go so far as the British in satisfying the demand of the gangsters for guarantees against any possible resistance on the part of their victims. One day last year an eminent diplomatist now in retirement said to me: "We live in a time in which anybody with sufficient effrontery can get away with anything and get anything across." We do indeed, at any rate in Europe, and in my opinion the fact gives disquieting support to Spengler's theory of *The Decline of the West*. Even now, for instance, the majority of people in England probably do not realise that the British Government went in for "sanctions" against Italy in 1935 only to secure an electoral victory with the firm intention of making them ineffective so as to have an excuse for never applying them again, and of putting an end to them as soon as the victory was won. The main lines of the Vansittart plan, commonly but erroneously called the Hoare-Laval plan, were communicated by Mr. Baldwin to the Comte de Chambrun, who was then French Ambassador to Rome, at Aix-les-Bains in September, 1935, just at the time when Sir Samuel Hoare made his noble speech at Geneva. Nobody, not even Hitler or Mussolini, is capable of greater duplicity in politics than a high-minded God-fearing English gentleman. *On peut toujours s'accommoder avec le Ciel*—and with British public opinion. Mr. Baldwin has become a national hero since he openly avowed that he had deceived the electorate to get votes.

—*The New Statesman and Nation*.

Anglo-American Trade

THROUGH one of the two most important subjects under discussion, the Anglo-American trade treaty proposals have been notably absent from all the official publicity devoted to the Imperial Conference proceedings. . . . The proposals in question are the reductions in the Ottawa tariff wall demanded by the Americans as the price of a trade agreement giving similar concessions to British manufacturers. The concessions demanded by the U.S.A. are intended for the most part to secure an easier entry for American agricultural products into Britain, although it is suggested by some well-informed observers that certain manufactured products, such as automobiles, are also covered.

Most of the sacrifices would, however, have to be borne by the Dominions and their trade importance might be considerable. In spite of this, the political significance of an Anglo-American trade agreement in the present state of international affairs would be greater than its actual trade significance and, aware of this, three at least of the Dominions—Canada, New Zealand and Australia—are pressing hard for the conclusion of such an agreement.

The British Government, on the other hand, have been—and still are—back-peddalling furiously on the whole agreement. When at a recent press conference awkward questions began to be asked about the Anglo-American situation, the Minister in attendance drew a gloomy picture of the chances of the Dominions agreeing to any Ottawa concessions and devoted much care to creating the impression that the whole thing was in the hands of the Dominions who would, in all probability, drop it.

—*The Week*, London.

CAPITALISM IN GERMANY

The economic and social policy of National Socialism does not include a single feature not conceived or practiced in Germany in the past. The political philosophy and practice of National Socialism are exclusively the incarnation of familiar traits of German history. The German conception of capitalism was always essentially different from the Anglo-Saxon, because it was developed in the direction of a greater resemblance to the Western pattern of capitalist democracy. The war cer-

tainly terminated what seemed to be a very promising historical development. During the war a totalitarian regime was established for the first time. During the war the entire social and economic fabric was subjected to government regulation and interference. During the war whatever feeble elements of genuine economic liberalism might have come into being during the preceding decades were definitely eradicated.

What National Socialism builds up is war economy once more but war economy on a Socialist ideological foundation. National Socialism is as genuine Socialism as it is genuine Nationalism. And this regime has inherited a full-fledged machinery from the improvised episode of democracy which struggled hopelessly for life from the hour of its birth in 1918. It was the democratic republican government in Germany that was already in control of the banks, the railroads, the power sources, the urban transit systems, the municipal gas and water, vast housing developments, and large parts of heavy industries. How many German industrialists were still independent of the Government in 1932, before Hitler came into power? How many could afford to arouse the ire of a determined government, to challenge it by refusing co-operation? Hardly a handful.

And the workers? Should German workers, brought up in Marxist ideology, in the pursuance of collectivist ideals, trained to demand public ownership, should they oppose a totalitarian regime which promised to complete what their own men had left undone? Could they fight for individual liberties on economic and social grounds? Hitler had only to reap where his foes had sown. Capitalism is lost where it is not built on liberalism and democracy. And liberalism and democracy are lost where they fail to convince the people of the necessity of capitalism as the only available economic safeguard of political, intellectual and spiritual freedom.

—“V” in *Foreign Affairs*, New York.

NAZIS IN AUSTRIA

The Nazi creed is conquering in this country in more than one way. There is, for example, a rapidly growing anti-Semitism in Austria, and while the anti-Semitism of the



Glasgow Record

In Russia Now—It's An Ill Wind, Etc.

Catholic Clericals in the past was of a religious nature, now it had adopted racial characteristics. The Heimwehr, which was dissolved last year, is now coming to new life in the form of comradeship organisations of former Heimwehrmen, and there is one organisation which gathers the former followers of Starhemberg (though the Prince keeps aloof from it), while another collects the friends and comrades of Major Fey. The Starhemberg followers, amongst others, adopted not only a decidedly pro-German character (their Linz organ, the "Neue Zeit," is being sold with the other Nazi papers in Austria), but they have taken the Aryan paragraph for their organisation, which means that no Heimwehrman with Jewish ancestry will be taken into it.

A Pan-Aryan Union has been formed in Vienna which intends to serve as a gathering organisation of all Aryans (which means anti-Semites) in the world. The Mayor of Vienna ordered that the name of Heine should be removed from the Heine-Hof, one of the municipal tenement houses, and the marble tablet with Heine's relief portrait was also removed. There is an ever-increasing economic boycott against Jewish doctors and lawyers and against Semitic shopkeepers, and there is even a social boycott now to be seen against Jews in quarters which hitherto kept aloof from the Nazis.

On the other hand, not all is well in the ranks of the Nazis. As Germany cannot openly show her hand, the Nazis cannot boast of unity. Just recently a "Feme" (revenge) action of the Styrian Nazis was discovered which led to the arrest of the chief of staff of the illegal S.A. in Austria. Two advertising agents of a German paper were kidnapped by political opponents and released only after 24 hours. Originally it was intended to take them across the frontier. The inquiry revealed that it concerned the two rival organisations of the Nazis. One group of the Nazis, and apparently this is the more important one, is now led by Captain Leopold. But other groups are more radical and have close connections with Frauenfeld and with the Austrian Brown House in Munich. These two groups conduct a regular war on each other. Thus the illegal "Oesterreichischer Beobachter" sides with Captain Leopold, while the other illegal Nazi organ, the "Kampftruf," assails Leopold.

—The Manchester Guardian.

The Stiletto Murders

OPINION is hardening in circles linked with the French Sûreté . . . that Professor Rosselli, editor of the anti-fascist paper *Justice and Liberty* and organizer of the Garibaldi battalion of the International Brigade which was largely responsible for the rout of the Italian troops at Guadalajara, was murdered by the same gang who assassinated the Russian banker and emigré Navachrin and Mlle. Letitia, the French Secret Agent recently done away with in the Paris Metro.

All the murders bear striking similarities: all three victims were people who had, for some reason or other, crossed the path of the Italian espionage system in France; all the

murders were, from the point of view of the criminal, "perfect murders," worked out by experts after detailed and prolonged preparation and all the murderers—or at least so it would appear at the moment—got away with it.

While the murder in the Metro was perhaps the most sensational of the three and that of the Russian banker, the first of the trio—it happened in the January of this year—the most crude (the victim was "taken for a ride and his stabbed body found in a ditch in the Bois de Cologne"), that of Rosselli, was the one most nearly approaching technical "perfection."

Rosselli met his death in much the same way

as did Matteotti on the eve of the anniversary of whose death the crime was committed. . . .

The French view is that, basing their methods on the Matteotti case as a model, the assassins have perfected their technique, improving it with each successive murder. As a result, a big hunt for those responsible is now taking place in France, while in this country, where it is believed the murder was planned, Scotland Yard are busy watching a group of Italians on whom they have had their eyes for some time.

Meanwhile, French indignation has been increased by the recent report that the quick-firing revolver used to assassinate M. Barthou and King Alexander of Yugoslavia in Marseilles was a German service revolver of a new type which must have come from the German War Office—the revolver was not issued generally to the German Army until several months after the Marseilles killings.

(It is, of course, known that the Croatian Ustachi, the terrorists who did the killing, had, and still have for that matter, their newspaper published in Berlin with the support of the Foreign Political Office of the Nazi Party.)

Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the plan to murder Professor Rosselli was not altogether unknown to certain high officials of the Doriot French Popular Party which, it is known, is riddled with both German and Italian secret agents.

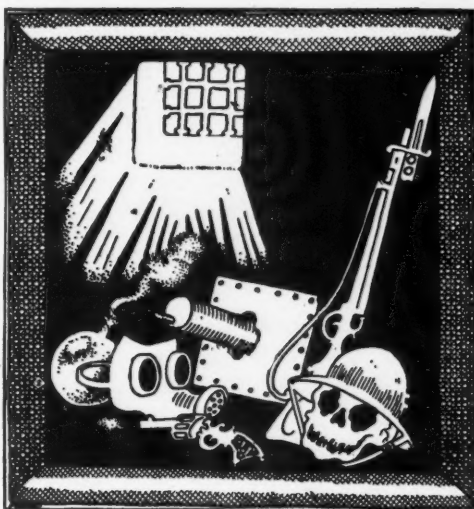
That, even if ever discovered, Professor Rosselli's murderers will go unpunished, however, is now generally believed—certain influential circles both in France and this country holding that to bring them to justice would, in the present explosive state of international relations, be a diplomatic *faux pas* of the first magnitude.

—*The Week*, London.

DOWN WITH FASCISM

The French strikes last summer had already provoked important movements in Italy. The news from Spain disturbed people's minds still more, and at the end of 1936 there were street demonstrations to acclaim the Spanish Republic and protest against the assistance given to Franco.

The movement began at Terni, it spread to Bologna, to Leghorn, and even to Naples, where clashes occurred on the occasion of certain embarkations. Time has not calmed this



Musket, Vienna

A MODERN STILL-LIFE

emotion, but on the contrary recent events have aggravated it. I take the following passage from an article on the subject published in the "Nuovo Avanti":

"There is considerable agitation in Piedmont and throughout Lombardy. At Genoa, Turin, and Bologna the walls are covered with bills bearing such words as 'Down With Fascism! Long live Republican Spain!' One evening certain parts of Milan were plunged in total darkness for 25 minutes. When the current was restored thousands of small bills still wet with paste covered the walls of the town. They denounced the brutal intervention of Fascism in Spain and announced that the hour of liberty would strike for oppressed Italy."

The arrests are numerous. Two hundred are mentioned in Genoa alone. Among those jailed are artists, savants, intellectuals of all categories, workingmen, and technicians.

Why all this repression? The authorities allow it to be understood that they have discovered a subversive organization which was provoking the movement. This is the eternal mistake of dictatorships, which imagine that discontent is provoked by agitators, and cannot understand that "agitators" on the contrary succeed in moving the crowds only to the extent to which the regime has made them discontented.

But the more the authorities agitate themselves the more the agitation grows. They help

PENDLETON LIBRARY
MICHIGAN UNION

to maintain it by the very brutality and the cynical injustice of their police measures to a greater extent than the most hardened revolutionary could do.

—*The New Leader*, Socialist, New York.

NORTH POLE MEETING

In the sunny Polar night, with a strong North wind blowing, all the inhabitants of the ice-floe gathered in a triumphal meeting to celebrate the official opening of the station "North Pole". We were thirty-five men.

Otto Iulevich Schmidt arose and gave a brief but warm address on the opening of the first scientific station on the drifting ice of the North Pole. He was answered by the leader of the four men who will remain one year at the station. "You will have no cause to be ashamed of us," he said.

The speeches ended. At Schmidt's command, Ernst Krenkel, the radio operator, pulls on the wire, and the flag with the emblem of the U. S. S. R. rises on the mast. On a neighboring mast a flag waves with the picture of Comrade Stalin. Three salvos from rifles and revolvers resound.

A great joy, a surging feeling of emotion takes hold of us. We will never forget this minute.

In the renewed silence Otto I. Schmidt is heard reading clearly and distinctly his report to comrades Stalin and Molotov. Baring our heads we sing the International. The victorious hymn of the Revolution rises over the icy expanses of the Arctic.

These were the last minutes of our stay on the ice floe. The motors of our four splendid airplanes were already running. Kissing our dear friends goodbye and shaking hands with them we hurried to the planes. Final moments of leave-taking. We noticed that Otto Schmidt walked a few paces apart to say a silent goodbye to the camp. He looked warmly for a few minutes at the tents, the electric windmills and the waving flags, then turned with decision to the first airplane.

At the start the sky was overcast with clouds. We rose higher than them and, again, the dazzling Arctic sun was shining over us.

The leading ship takes a firm course. Three other ships follow behind us. We rise higher and higher. The motors run smoothly. We remained aloft four hours.

—*Pravda*, Moscow.

DUTCH CHRISTIANS

The Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, during its recent session at Pretoria, showed its earnest desire to act as a guide in social matters as well as in matters of doctrine and church administration. It showed a praiseworthy sense of responsibility and a great measure of common sense in refusing to be drawn into the political and industrial controversy about the rights of trade unions and the merits and demerits of the closed shop principle. It issued a well-reasoned and remarkably clear statement on the question of what constitutes decency in clothing and physical exercises.

The attitude taken up by the Synod in regard to both these questions must have surprised the unbiassed among all sections. Generally it is found that affairs of daily life are treated by spiritual leaders of a nation in a spirit of disdain and intolerance, but there is no trace of such a spirit in the Dutch Reformed Synod's resolutions on the two points referred to.

It is, therefore, all the more surprising that the same body of Fathers of the Church adopted an extraordinarily hesitating attitude in a matter much more closely connected with religious principles, viz.—the question of racial persecutions. The matter under discussion was that of missionary work among non-Christian sections of the people. At the close of a lengthy discussion a resolution was passed which deserves serious attention. It reads:—

"The Synod declares unequivocally: (a) that it is and remains the duty and calling of the Church, according to the Saviour's instructions, to bring the Gospel to all nations that have not yet accepted it, until it can efficiently be done by converts in such nations, when the task can be handed over to them. *To this rule the Jewish nation must not be allowed to form an exception because of any agitation that may be in vogue, or may be started, against them.*

(b) further, that persecution of any section of the community does not meet with its approval. *Where anti-Jewish movements are started for economic or other reasons, the Synod will leave it to the Christian feeling of its members to judge in how far such movements are justified or not, considering the general national interests."*

The italicized portion of clause (6) of the



South Wales Echo

Judge: You are charged with murder, manslaughter, and other violence. What have you to say?

Defendant (conducting his own case): Not guilty, my lord!

Judge: Myself and jury are of the same opinion. You are discharged.

[Germany has decided she was justified in bombarding Almeria.]

resolution shows that the Synod is not prepared to state "unequivocally" that it condemns as un-Christian all persecution of Jews. Apparently it disapproves of such persecution where it may be detrimental to the progress of proselytising amongst the Jews, but where "economic or other reasons" are adduced for anti-Jewish movements the members of the Church must consult their own Christian feelings to decide whether persecution is "justified or not." The only conclusion to be drawn from that statement is that the movements of Greyshirts or Blackshirts may be justifiable, provided some "economic or other reasons" can be found for the preaching of persecution. The Greyshirts have never been backward in discovering "economic reasons" as well as "other reasons" for their campaign against Jews and Jewish property, and it must be assumed that they will make very active use of the Synod's resolutions to work on the "Christian feelings" of Church members. And if a good many of these members should come to the conclusions that there are sound "economic or other reasons" to attack the Jews, the Synod cannot escape responsibility.

It will be interesting to read the inevitable comments of the Calvinist leaders in Holland and Switzerland on the Synod's resolution.

—South African Opinion.

THE FRONT POPULAIRE

Many observers . . . hold that the time is near when the break-up of the Front Populaire will be accepted by public opinion as an inevitable and even as a desirable change—whatever that change might bring. New financial difficulties loom large on the horizon, the problem of wages and prices, though less acute, is still present, and with the trade unions in their present state of mind, labor unrest and conflicts of a singularly "undemocratic" kind between Labor and the Government threaten to continue.

On the other hand, Blum early in May reaffirmed his determination to continue the "pause" in the realization of the Front Populaire's proposed reforms. He rejected Jouhaux's more extreme demands, among them the ten-billion-franc public works program and the creation of a C.G.T. monopoly of the labor market. The labor truce effected

for the duration of the Exposition has helped to restore confidence. On their part, the Left extremists seem to have become aware that they had gone too far; and for the time being at any rate they are less intransigent, thereby temporarily lessening the general tension.

A great question is how the working class would react should there be a change of government, should a more bourgeois coalition take the place of the Blum Cabinet. Will they

submit, or will they rebel in the vain hope that a government even more to the Left may seize power, in accordance with the purely demagogic prophecies of Thorez? There is no parliamentary majority for such a government, and its establishment would mean a revolution. The prospect seems fantastic; for no one can run a revolution with at least four-fifths of the nation against it.

—Alexander Werth in *Foreign Affairs*, New York

Partition of China

FOR a certain time there have been rumors about political negotiations and the possibility of an agreement between England and Japan. Following the decision taken by the British Government approximately in February 1935, to defend the interests of British investments in China from the threat of Japanese aggression, the reestablishment of an understanding with England became one of the basic problems of Japanese foreign policy. Leith-Ross, at that time economic commissioner of the British Government in the Far East, made two trips to Tokio in the hope of reaching an understanding with Japan acceptable to England. It was only the complete failure of his attempts that forced England to stiffen her policy in China against Japan.

The Japanese Imperialists were then drunk with the successes of their arms and their political intrigues in China, and their dumping on foreign markets. They asked from England nothing more or less than to forswear the principle of the Open Door in China and, at the same time, to accept that principle in British colonies. This would have meant capitulation before Japan, a course naturally rejected by London. On the contrary the British showed—as in the celebrated currency reforms of Nanking—that they were capable of assuming a serious counter-offensive in China. Following that, the development of a crisis in Japan's relations with China and her growing international isolation made it imperative for Japan to secure an agreement with Great Britain and forced her to retreat from her original position. . . .

Secret negotiations now taking place in London have progressed to such an extent that the London *Times* of May 3 of this year can say that the Foreign Office is awaiting the

concrete proposals of the Japanese Government.

The general features of the proposed agreement are known. As early as the middle of April the Japanese newspaper *Nitsi-Nitsi* affirmed that England agrees to recognize the special interests of Japan in Manchukuo and North China, while Japan, promising to respect the territorial integrity of China, recognizes on her part the special interests of Britain in Central and South China and promises to cooperate with her in the economic sphere.

The diplomatic observer of the Sunday *Times* of May 2 outlines the Japanese plan with the following changes: formal recognition of Manchukuo will not be required and an international loan to China is to be sought.

In both the Japanese and English versions the projected agreement amounts to a new partition of China into two spheres of influence,—Japanese in the North and British in the Yangtze Valley and in the South. Following the model of the worst period of the dismemberment and looting of China by certain Imperialist powers at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, Japan and England promise to respect their respective spheres of influence in China.

In anticipation of the formal adoption of the agreement the British *Peking and Tientsin Times* already promises British financial support for Japanese exploitation in North China and demands of the officials of those provinces direct agreements with Japan without consulting the Nanking Government. Yet the Anglo-Japanese agreement is still in the stage of discussions!

The projected deal has, as we see, a specific character. In spite of protestations as to the preservation of China's territorial and administrative integrity, it would mean their in-



Glasgow Record

Versatility—Admiral Mussolini, before reviewing the Fleet, takes the salute from a few of his supporters.

fringement by Japan and the final liquidation by England of the Washington Nine Powers Pact.

These Anglo-Japanese discussions have seriously alarmed public opinion in China. The Chinese know perfectly well that English comments on the supposed willingness of Japan to renounce further expansion in China do not correspond with reality. The Japanese Militarists will not and cannot draw back—for to do so would proclaim their bankruptcy.

Indeed, it is precisely in order to expand her military, political and economical penetration of China that an agreement with England is necessary for Japan. The Chinese

paper *Shitsedjibao* rightly says that a compromise with Japan is being concluded by England at the expense of China, an agreement that creates a situation for China's partition. With no less grounds the *Shunbao* states that "the conclusion of an agreement would be equivalent to the division of China into two protectorates—English and Japanese," and calls on China for unity and resistance. Undoubtedly, the Anglo-Japanese negotiations, capable as they are of exerting a considerable influence on both Far Eastern affairs and the international situation as a whole, deserve careful attention.

—Izvestia, Moscow.

CHRONOLOGY

Highlights of Current History, June 11—July 10

DOMESTIC

- JUNE 11**—Monroe City Commission, Michigan asks Gov. Frank Murphy for martial law to prevent bloodshed at scheduled tri-state labor rally.
Mayor Lionel Evans of Youngstown, Ohio granted broad powers to deal with steel strike situation.
Bethlehem Steel workers join in sympathetic strike.
Senate Committee votes inquiry into mail deliveries to besieged workers at Chicago.
House of Representatives votes to continue "nuisance" taxes two more years.
- JUNE 12**—Governor Murphy dispatches troops to labor meeting at Monroe, Michigan.
Senate Committee votes to force municipalities to pay 40% of W.P.A. costs.
- JUNE 13**—John L. Lewis calls out 9,000 workers in seventeen mines owned by Bethlehem Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube.
Fifteen injured in police clash with strikers in Johnstown, Pa.
Department of Commerce reports \$9,000,000,000 income rise in 1936.
American-Canadian parley opens at Kingston, Ontario.
- JUNE 14**—Peaceful picketing to be permitted at Monroe Steel plants.
Five injured in police clash with strikers in Johnstown, Pa.
Eighteen shipyards paralyzed by strike of 4,000 workers on Eastern Seaboard.
Senate Judiciary Committee reports court bill unfavorably while denouncing Roosevelt.
- JUNE 15**—President Roosevelt says that concerns agreeing verbally to workers' contracts should sign.
Republic Steel Corporation sues postal authorities over non-delivery of mail to plants during strike.
Picketing resumed at Monroe, Michigan under supervision of Mayor.
- JUNE 16**—Mayor Daniel J. Shields appeals to President Roosevelt for aid against the C.I.O. Managements of Republic and Youngstown Steel companies refuse to attend mediation conference called by Governor Davey.
Films of Memorial Day strike clash in South Chicago reveal a police massacre.
Senate wrangle blocks vote on relief measure.
- JUNE 17**—President Roosevelt appoints board to speed steel strike agreements.
Sheriff Elser asks Youngstown Steel plants to remain closed during mediation.
Philip Murray, chairman of the C.I.O., charges Chicago police guilty of "deliberate murder" on Memorial Day riot at Republic Steel plant.
Japan notifies U. S. that naval guns will be built to limit; repudiates 14 inch agreement.
- JUNE 18**—Senatorial revolt against New Deal leadership threatened; Senator Robinson leads fight for relief economy.
Attorney General Charles J. Margiotti of Pennsylvania after inspecting Johnstown strike situation advises Governor Earle to withdraw martial law order.
Russian plane over North Pole en route to United States.
President Roosevelt sends Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Secretary of Labor to Cleveland for strike mediation.
- JUNE 19**—Martial law ordered in Johnstown; Governor Earle closes Cambria plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation.
John L. Lewis halts threatened march of 40,000 coal miners on Johnstown to assist steel strikers.
Russian fliers reported over Canada.
C.I.O. leaders charge steel management with sabotaging the Wagner Labor Act.
- JUNE 20**—Steel strike wage toll mounts to \$10,000,000.
Bethlehem Steel Company closes Cambria plant under orders of Governor Earle; management charges duress.
Johnstown, Pa. pastors attempt to break strike from pulpits; preach against C.I.O. and denounce Governor Earle for closing plants to prevent bloodshed.
Dr. Angell of Yale denounces Roosevelt regime.
- JUNE 21**—President Roosevelt asks steel mills to remain closed throughout period of mediation.
Governor Davey of Ohio, declares martial law in Youngstown and vicinity.
Steel management led by Tom M. Girdler, chairman of the Republic Steel Corporation, refuses to make agreement with C. I. O. workers despite efforts of Federal Steel Mediation Board.
Johnstown Citizens Committee asks for Senate inquiry into steel strike.
- JUNE 22**—President Roosevelt assailed in Congress for his steel strike policy.
Youngstown, Ohio under martial law; troops close all steel mills.
John L. Lewis is charged with encouraging President Roosevelt to consider a third term.
- JUNE 23**—C. I. O. calls a "labor holiday" in Warren and Niles, Ohio, bringing 14,000 workers on strike protesting enforcement of court injunction.
Federal Mediation Board again fails to secure joint conference of steel executives and C.I.O. officials.
Senator Borah in Senate speech warns against fascism among youths.

- Governor Earle of Pennsylvania urges third term on President Roosevelt.
- JUNE 24—Tom Girdler, Republic Steel head, appearing before Senate committee denounces C.I.O.; calls Philip Murray of C.I.O. "liar." Mayor Lionel Evans of Youngstown, Ohio appeals to President Roosevelt to force opening of steel mills for loyal workers.
- Governor Earle calls off martial law in Johnstown, Pennsylvania.
- JUNE 25—Youngstown steel mills reopen. Governor Davey of Ohio orders troops to protect workers against strikers.
- President Roosevelt holidays with 150 Congressmen at Jefferson Islands Club in Maryland; move to secure party harmony.
- JUNE 26—17,500 non-strikers return to work in Youngstown, Ohio steel mills.
- National Labor Relations Board issues complaint against Ford Motor Company for "interfering with, restraining and coercing" employees.
- Governor Davey of Ohio says Secretary of Labor Perkins urged him to hold Girdler until he signed union contracts.
- C.I.O. sues to prohibit use of Ohio troops to escort workers into closed plants.
- JUNE 27—C.I.O. charges Youngstown Steel management with terrorism against workers as steel plants reopen.
- Governor Townsend refuses to send troops to East Chicago, Indiana, for strikebreaking purposes.
- Senator Vandenberg asks three amendments to Wagner Act to protect rights of minority employees, the employers and the public.
- Officials worried by presence of Soviet engineers in U. S. airplane plants.
- JUNE 28—Army of "vigilantes" and American Legionnaires organized in Michigan to fight C.I.O. drive on Ford.
- Bethlehem Steel reports Johnstown strike broken.
- JUNE 29—President Roosevelt voices indirect criticism of both workers and employers; offers a "plague on both your houses."
- Dynamiting of water mains closes Johnstown steel mills; Johnstown Mayor orders strike leaders to quit city.
- Newspaper publishers band together to fight Newspaper Guild; vote resolution against closed-shop.
- President Roosevelt evades direct answer on inquiry regarding a third term.
- Senate ratifies seven Pan-American pacts signed at Buenos Aires conference; specific purpose to preserve the peace.
- New York Supreme Court rules Communists have lost party status; unable to list candidates for elections in Fall.
- JUNE 30—Inland Steel strike ends in truce; C.I.O. accepts plan by Indiana Governor.
- Steel mills reopen in Canton, Ohio; eight workers injured in riot.
- La Follette forces admission of "brutality" from Chicago police in connection with Memorial Day massacre.
- New direct ship subsidy replaces mail payment plan; Maritime Board reports 23 companies have signed agreements.
- JULY 1—Secretary Perkins issues public report stating that she has seen no C.I.O. irresponsibility.
- Fifteen persons injured in W.P.A. dismissal riots in New York.
- Democratic Senate leaders abandon President Roosevelt's court bill; Senator Robinson offers substitute.
- JULY 2—Both legislative bodies scrutinize new court revision bill. Farm Tenants' bill approved by both Houses of Congress.
- Pan-American Airways begin exploratory flights over Atlantic Ocean; will establish passenger and mail service to Europe.
- JULY 3—Secretary Perkins denounces sit-down strikes as unsuited to American life.
- Ford Motor Company challenges authority of National Labor Relations Board.
- The Seattle-Star suspended by disputes between Newspaper Guild and Teamsters Union.
- Commerce department reports figures for May show export trade balance rising steadily.
- JULY 4—Pan-American clipper en route to Newfoundland; inaugurating trans-Atlantic plane service.
- Amelia Earhart lost in Pacific on flight.
- Governor Earle pledges his support to 12,000 steel strikers rallying at Johnstown.
- Labor Board reports 103 strikes, affecting 17,869 workers, were ended in May; 1,917 cases handled.
- JULY 5—Cleveland steel plants to reopen under supervision of National Guard.
- Labor Board starts inquiry into Ford Motor Company violation of Wagner Labor Act.
- JULY 6—Felony warrants issued against the Ford company and fourteen employees charging them with beating union men.
- Johnstown pickets abandon steel mill for plan to force National Labor Relation Board election.
- Picket hurled in front of automobile is killed at Michigan furniture factory.
- 200 workers indicted by grand jury at Youngstown, Ohio for inciting to riot.
- President Roosevelt orders \$400,000,000 saving; proposes ten per cent cut on all outlays.
- Senator Robinson opens debate on substitute court revision bill; defies enemies to filibuster.
- JULY 7—Twenty-one shot, one worker killed in strike battle at Alcoa Aluminum plant in Tenn.
- C.I.O. organizers identify five Ford company thugs as assailants.
- Justice Department investigators threaten to push anti-trust action against Western Union and Postal.
- JULY 8—William Green declares C.I.O. failed in drive on steel; denounces Lewis as enemy of labor.
- Republic Steel opens its last closed mill in Cleveland.
- Witnesses before the NLRB describe Ford men at May riot as "typical hoodlums."
- Senate majority invokes gag rule to frustrate threatened filibuster on court bill.
- Revised Black-Connery bill on wages and hours reported to the Senate.
- JULY 9—Imperial Airways flying boat *Caledonia*

arrives in New York from Great Britain.
Senate convulsed by struggle over Court Plan;
opponents see fate of New Deal in the balance.
Steel industry returns to normal; independent
companies hail victory over C.I.O.

JULY 10—Charges filed against Aluminum Co. in
Tennessee placed before the Labor Relations
Board.

Democratic legislators defy Administration to
oust them for opposing court plan.

INTERNATIONAL

JUNE 11—German Foreign Minister von Neurath
visits Budapest to dissuade Hungarians from
joining Czechoslovakia in anti-Nazi front.

JUNE 15—German Foreign Minister von Neurath
to visit England; Anglo-German rapproche-
ment seen.

JUNE 17—Great Britain, seeing Russian Army
weakened, turns towards agreement with Ger-
many and Italy.

Tokyo rejects Anglo-U. S. appeal for limitation
of naval guns to 14 instead of 16 inch caliber.
Little Entente Conference, held in Roumania,
stresses unity.

JUNE 20—Neutrals blamed for fall of Bilbao,
made possible by fascist intervention.

JUNE 21—Baron von Neurath, German Foreign
Minister, cancels visit to England for failure
of powers to take action against Valencia
Government over *Leipzig* incident.

JUNE 23—Italy and Germany quit central naval
patrol of Spain; Fascist fleets massed off
Spain; Valencia fears naval attack.

JUNE 25—British Prime Minister Neville Cham-
berlain sees war situation as "serious but not
hopeless," urges Europe to be calm.

JUNE 27—German war veterans give cheers for
King George VI at Berlin rally.

JUNE 29—Russia agrees to evacuate two Amur
Islands on boundary between Siberia and
Northeastern Manchukuo.

France warns U. S. that internal affairs may
force her to quit three-power currency agree-
ment.

French crisis worries Berlin meeting of Inter-
national Chamber of Commerce.

JULY 1—Russian and Japanese forces concentrate
on Amur after sinking of Soviet ship by
Japanese.

British delegate to International Chamber of
Commerce conference in Berlin urges Ger-
many to give satisfactory guarantees of peace
in return for gold loan.

JULY 2—Soviet issues big defense loan, but urges
withdrawal of Soviet and Japanese troops
from the border.

JULY 3—Foreign Minister Anthony Eden states
that England is determined to maintain ter-
ritorial integrity of Spain.

JULY 6—Dr. H. H. Kung, Chinese Finance Min-
ister, asks U. S. aid in restoring China.

JULY 7—British Government, following report of
Royal Commission, approves division of Pales-
tine into three parts—one Jewish, one Arab,
and one British.

JULY 8—Japanese and Chinese troops clash near
Peiping.

JULY 9—Japanese and Chinese agree to withdraw
troops, pending negotiations over Peiping
conflict.

Italy assures England that she will ban anti-
British broadcasts to Arabs.

JULY 10—Fighting renewed in China; Japanese
capture two towns near Peiping.
France and Germany sign trade pact.

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

JUNE 11—Rebels occupy ridge over Bilbao's last
line of fortification.

JUNE 12—Rebels break through defenses at Bil-
bao.

Loyalists threaten action against foreign sub-
marines found in territorial waters.

JUNE 13—Planes and artillery batter Bilbao de-
fense; rebels gain. Loyalist air forces bomb
rebels at Aragon.

JUNE 14—Rebels drive to encircle Bilbao.

Spanish diplomats to confer with Premier
Negrin at Balencia.

JUNE 15—Bilbao "in extremis"; rebels continue
steady advance.

JUNE 16—Rebels rain explosives on Bilbao; fall
of city imminent.

Loyalist warship seized by crew to prevent
officer desertions.

JUNE 17—Basque Government quits Bilbao.

General Franco rules out all compromise peace
proposals.

JUNE 18—Bilbao falls; Rebels enter city without

meeting resistance. Basque troops in full
retreat west of Bilbao.

JUNE 19—Basques evacuate Bilbao.

Rebels issue food to starving populace.

JUNE 20—Rebels drive toward Santander.

General Franco thanks Mussolini for his faith
and aid.

JUNE 21—Basque troops rally west of Bilbao; to
make last stand.

JUNE 22—Britain and France refuse to join Ger-
many and Italy in naval demonstrations
against Spanish Government in retaliation for
submarine attack on German cruiser *Leipzig*.

JUNE 23—Germany and Italy quit neutrality
patrol off Spanish coast. Rebels drive toward
Santander; Capture munitions plant. Valen-
cia expresses fears of German naval attack.

JUNE 24—Seven German warships enter Mediter-
ranean for unknown destination.

JUNE 25—Italy demands Neutrality Commission
make final settlement on Spanish patrol.
Rebels drive westward from Bilbao.

- JUNE 26—Mussolini determined to back Franco in Spain.
 Madrid defeats Rebel attacks; Basque troops prepare resistance west of Bilbao.
 JUNE 27—Rebels continue gains at Santander; Basque troops deserting.
 JUNE 28—Loyalists accuse Germany and Italy of maintaining unofficial submarine blockade.
 Italy to abandon negative attitude on non-intervention patrol.
 JUNE 29—Germany and Italy oppose Anglo-French patrol of Spanish coasts.
 Rebels enter Valmaseda, important iron center; Basques fight Asturian allies.
 JUNE 30—Seven warships of undetermined origin stage hostile demonstration off Spanish island of Minorca.
 JULY 1—Italy and Germany reject joint Franco-British patrol of Spanish coast; France threatens to open border.

- JULY 2—Basques abandon stand in Northern Spain; casualties placed at 45,000 dead and wounded.
 Basque President Aguirre accuses Valencia-Madrid regime of abandonment in hour of need.
 JULY 3—Madrid repulses Rebel attacks.
 Rebels bomb seaport of Santander.
 JULY 5—Loyalists attack in north, east and center; Basques retreat before Rebel force.
 JULY 6—Loyalists report gains outside Madrid. Rebels report entering Santander Province.
 JULY 7—Britain appeals to France for compromise on non-intervention patrol; London again yields to fascist powers.
 JULY 8—Loyalists advance outside Madrid; defeat Rebel counter-attacks.
 JULY 10—France threatens to suspend patrol of Spanish border on July 13.

FOREIGN

Brazil

- JUNE 16—Two generals arrested; military conspiracy against Vargas Government suspected.
 JUNE 17—Full constitutional rights, suspended during "state of war" since November 1935, restored to people.

France

- JUNE 11—Rosselli brothers, Italian exiles, publishers of anti-Fascist newspaper, found dead.
 JUNE 14—Blum Government threatened by financial crisis; two members of Exchange Equalization Fund resign, protesting government's new financial proposals.
 JUNE 15—Popular Front emerges safe from long debate in Chamber of Deputies; Premier Blum given powers to stop speculation against the franc.
 JUNE 16—Senate expected to indorse granting of financial powers to Blum Government.
 JUNE 19—Senate refuses emergency powers for Blum Government, but House of Deputies readopts program.
 JUNE 21—Blum Cabinet resigns as Senate refuses emergency fiscal powers for second time.
 JUNE 22—Camille Chautemps, Radical Socialist, heads new Government, ex-Premier Blum becomes Vice Premier, George Bonnet takes Ministry of Finance, Yvon Delbos remains Minister of Finance.
 JUNE 24—Communists agree to back Chautemps Government.
 JUNE 29—Payments in gold suspended; Bourse closed, as Premier Chautemps asks Parliament for full financial powers.
 JUNE 30—Chautemps Government gains full powers to restore public finance and defend gold reserve, by vote of 380,228. Franc cut adrift from gold content limitations; four-cent value anticipated.
 JULY 8—New taxes, direct and indirect, add 8,000,000,000 francs to burden on taxpayers.

- JULY 10—Workers divided as Paris unions call hotel and café strikes.

Germany

- JUNE 16—Decree makes it criminal to contribute money to any organization within the Protestant Church not specifically approved by the Minister for Church Affairs.
 JUNE 17—Import and export trade continues to gain, although raw material shortage causes shutdowns and dismissals.
 JUNE 20—Nazis close all Catholic schools in Bavaria.
 JUNE 27—Bavarian Minister of the Interior announces progressive reduction of state aid to churches.
 JULY 1—Rev. Martin Niemoller, successful Protestant opponent of Nazis, finally arrested.
 JULY 6—Poor grain crops expected, necessitating larger purchases from abroad.

Great Britain

- JUNE 16—Sir John Simon, new Chancellor of the Exchequer, presents to the House of Commons 5 per cent tax on business profits over £2,000 a year to meet rearmament costs; plan replaces Neville Chamberlain's unpopular growth-of-profits levy.
 JUNE 28—House of Commons approves enlargement of exchange equalization fund from £350,000,000 to £550,000,000.
 JUNE 30—Duke of Windsor hotly denies hurrying arrangements for his father's funeral, breaking tradition of Royal reticence in controversies.

Irish Free State

- JUNE 14—Parliament approves draft of new Constitution and is dissolved; new Constitution to be submitted to people in momentous general election.
 JUNE 24—Close race predicted in general election.

JUNE 30—Great Britain unperturbed over prospect of De Valera victory.

JULY 6—Election ends in stalemate, De Valera party gaining exactly half seats.

Italy

JUNE 18—All Fascists ordered to subscribe to Mussolini's personal organ, Milan's *Popolo d'Italia*; largest circulation in Europe anticipated.

Japan

JUNE 15—Cabinet seeks five-year plan to increase production; draft submitted by War Minister looks to cooperation with Manchukuo.

JUNE 24—Army's six-year industrial plan calls for tripling of Japan's industrial production and total military and naval expenditure of 11,000,000,000 yen.

Mexico

JUNE 25—Decree places all farms under state control; government to fix maximum and minimum prices, regulate farm production, and control exports and imports.

JUNE 27—President Cardenas struggles to gain control of labor unions.

Paraguay

JUNE 15—Paraguayan Army revolts against Provisional President Rafael and attempts to put Chaco peace pact into effect.

JUNE 17—Refusal of Paraguayan Army to retire from its positions in the Chaco creates tense international situation.

Russia

JUNE 12—Eight prominent Red Army generals sentenced to death for aiding enemy powers.

JUNE 13—Two men warned to reorganize the automobile, tractor and combine industry or face trial.

JUNE 14—Twenty-eight executives and employees of transiberian railway executed for sabotage.

JUNE 16—A. G. Cherviakov, president of the White Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, commits suicide, following arrest of 45 colleagues.

JUNE 18—Soviet monoplane, carrying three men, passes over North Pole on 6,000 mile non-stop flight from Moscow to Oakland, California.

JUNE 20—Soviet fliers complete polar flight, landing at Vancouver, Washington, 600 miles short of goal.

JUNE 24—Vehemence of propaganda organs suggests widespread discontent, according to *New York Times* uncensored despatch.

JUNE 27—General Alkins, chief of Red Army Air Force, believed to be under arrest.

JULY 3—Churchmen accused of participating in counter-revolutionary plots.



This Month's

CURRENT HISTORY

The Pan-American Conference held out bright hopes for American trade to the south. But the old European rivals are back again in force, with new recruits in the ranks of the contenders for that rich market. The editors survey these rivalries in *Pan-American Trade Conflicts*.

Unnoticed by most of the world, Great Britain has been going on a grand financial and industrial spree, following the best pre-1929 American traditions. **Frank C. Hanighen**, the co-author of *Merchants of Death* and a frequent contributor to numerous American periodicals, tells all about it in *Behind Britain's Boom*.

Richard L. Neuberger, who contributed *America Talks Court* to the June issue, follows up with a discussion of the dilemma of a leading liberal who opposed the President's Court reform proposals. *Senator Wheeler's Plight* is the more significant because it is the plight of many other progressives. Mr. Neuberger is an editorial writer for the Portland *Oregonian* and the co-author of the recently published biography of Senator Norris, *Integrity*, which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

It has been the fate of several newspaper correspondents who have expressed views on the situation in Japan unpleasant to the authorities there to be refused admission to that country. **Marc T. Greene** states that he doesn't want to go back; anyway, the censors probably won't let him after reading his article, *How Dangerous Is Japan?*, a very frank and timely discussion of a crucial question. Mr. Greene is a noted American correspondent for the *Providence Journal*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the *Manchester Guardian*.

W. Carroll Munro, an associate editor of *Current History*, writes *Cameras Don't Lie*, which discusses the implications of the recent censorship of the Paramount news-film of the South Chicago riot.

Arms Over Europe is the first of a series of four articles by **Curt L. Heymann**, a former contributor to *Current History* and a member of the editorial staff of *The New York Times*. The present instalment considers the position of Great Britain—how well she is armed and to what pur-

poses she intends to devote her huge rearmament program. Subsequent articles will deal with the Fascist powers, France and her allies, and Soviet Russia.

The Black-Connery Bill has brought up the much-debated questions of higher wages, shorter hours, and their effects upon the progress of recovery. In *What Price High Wages?* **Herbert M. Bratter** lucidly analyzes this whole problem. Mr. Bratter, who now writes for the *Washington Star*, was formerly senior economic analyst for the U. S. Treasury Department.

While Fascism has been making heavy inroads in southeastern Europe, it has been far from universally successful. **Henry C. Wolfe**, the author of *Yugoslavia's Design for Democracy*, brings expert knowledge and first-hand information to bear on the subject; he conducts a regular feature on international events in the Columbus (Ohio) *Sunday Dispatch* and is fresh from a recent visit to Europe.

1937 has been crowned with success for the crusaders for birth control. **Mabel Travis Wood**, who contributes a timely article on this important social problem—*Birth Control's Big Year*—is editor of the *Birth Control Review*.

All the economic indices are climbing, but . . . **Charles Hodges**, professor of politics at New York University and a member of *Current History's* editorial advisory board, discusses the signs of recovery and the "but" in *How Real Is Recovery?*

Here is a fascinating piece on the little-known Virgin Islands—*Caribbean Laboratory, U. S. A.* It is contributed by **Robert W. Desmond**, a member of the editorial staff of the *Christian Science Monitor* magazine. He has just published an important work, *The Press and World Affairs*, (Appleton Century), which Harold J. Laski describes as "a service of outstanding importance."

Re-Housing Russia is another of **Joseph H. Baird's** illuminating descriptions of conditions in the Soviet Union, where he was formerly a United Press correspondent.

T R A V E L

Where History Is in the Making

DESPITE its forbidding name, Iceland has had an increasingly wider appeal for travelers in the last few years. It is true that its northern coast-line hugs the Arctic Circle, but Iceland's southern and southwestern shores—little more than 500 miles from the British Isles—enjoy a relatively mild climate. The mean annual temperature in the most thickly-settled regions is almost 40 degrees Fahrenheit; an Iceland winter is not much colder than in many sections of the United States.

But favorable weather in the lower half of the country is only one factor in the renewed interest in the Land of the Sagas. More important to many visitors is the way in which Iceland has made democracy work. Like Denmark, with which it is united by a personal bond of union under the government of King Christian X, Iceland has found that the "middle way" is best. Disregarding prophets of both extremes of the social axis, it has carefully adapted the instruments of democracy to the new needs of modern civilization.

And Iceland is a modern civilization. Although the number of persons per square mile is only 2.7 over an area of 40,000 square miles—its entire population is smaller than that of Salt Lake City—Iceland has not been left behind in the era of industrialization and rapid communication and transportation. The people are rapidly discarding their traditional carriages for the mechanized marvels of Detroit, and have long since passed the stage where the use of the telephone is a novelty.

To Iceland, democracy has meant social progress in the fullest sense of the term. Free of the problems of unemployment, crime, and illiteracy, Iceland has directed its efforts toward permanently locking out these unwholesome conditions. Where the rest of the world waited until the depression waters were at full tide before attempting to save itself, Iceland stepped in at the first sign of threatening waves and in 1927 set up a system of poor-relief whose efficiency has been admired by larger nations. Every community in the country has an Old-Age Pension Fund, apparently the model after which

the American Social Security Act was patterned. All men and women from 18 to 60 contribute to the fund unless government investigation reveals that the contribution, even though small, may work a hardship upon the family. The pension funds receive a subvention from the State, and grants are made to infirm poor persons over 60 who for the preceding five years have not received poor-relief.

The Icelanders realize they cannot stress education too strongly. Instruction in elementary school is compulsory for five years—the elementary school period being from 10 to 14. Before that age, the children are usually educated at private schools. There are 250 elementary schools, three public high schools, two ladies' schools, a school for elementary school teachers, two schools of agriculture, a school of navigation, a commercial high school, and several other special institutions. Reykjavik, capital of Iceland, has a university. And all in a country of only 120,000 population!

Police forces are among the least of Iceland's worries. Its courts are concerned mainly with civil suits, for the number of criminal cases seldom amount to more than a few a month. Like the United States, Iceland has a Supreme Court (*haestirjettur*) to which appeals from the provincial magistrates (*sýslumenn*) and town judges (*bæjarfógetar*) may be made. But Iceland's Supreme Court has only three members.

Although technically a sovereign state, Iceland has a Premier, Cabinet, and Parliament. Under the terms of its present Constitution, which is embodied in the Charter of May 18, 1920, the legislative power of the government rests conjointly with the King of Denmark and the Parliament, which is called *Althing*. The Althing has a Lower and Upper Chamber, with a total of 49 members who are elected for a period of four years. At present, the Progressive Party is in power, with Hermann Jonasson, leader of the party, as Premier, and with a total of 17 members in the Althing. The Party advocates general improvement in agriculture, better popular education, and consumer cooperatives on an extended scale. The strongest opposition to the

Progressives is furnished by the Nationalist Party, which is strong in the Althing, but which does not fill at present any of the positions of Premier, Speaker of the Upper Chamber, or Speaker of the Lower Chamber. The policies of the Nationalist Party are built around its program for strengthening the national spirit, loosening the bonds of connection with Denmark, preserving the independence of the nation, and stabilizing and improving the country's finances. If the Chambers of the Althing fail to agree on a measure, they assemble in a common sitting and the final decision is arrived at by a majority of two-thirds of all the members. Budget bills, however, only require a majority vote.

Iceland's executive power is exercised under the King by his appointed ministry. The ministry is responsible, however, to the people and is subject to impeachment by the Althing. Suffrage is available to members of both sexes over 21 who have lived five years or more in the country.

Rights of citizens in Iceland and Denmark are interchangeable, but citizens of either state are exempt from military service in the other. There is little likelihood, incidentally, of Danish citizens being called to the colors while in Iceland, for Iceland has no army or navy. Neither has it any fortifications. Its permanent neutrality was established under the Act of Union of 1918 and the only semblances of national military organization are the three government fishery protection vessels which patrol the coast.

It is little wonder, then, that Iceland, unburdened by military expenditures, has consistently been able not only to balance its budget but actually to show a favorable balance of revenue over expenditures. Funds which in other countries would be poured into the manufacture of armaments are used to build schools and to encourage science, literature, and art. As a result, the Icelanders, with a strong literary tradition, are becoming increasingly conscious of the diverse media of culture.

As a people, Icelanders live simple and sturdy lives. They are divided almost equally between rural districts and the small towns and villages. Agriculture, fishing, and live-stock exporting are the chief industries. This despite the fact that of the total area of Iceland, only one-fourth of one per cent is under cultivation. And the crops are confined almost entirely to hay, potatoes, and turnips.

The people do not, contrary to popular belief, live in igloos, nor do they subsist on Eskimo food. Their homes, whether in country or city, are com-



A SHIPBOARD ballot, on a returning world-cruiser, showed that South Africa, of all the lands visited, most completely captured the imagination of these tourists!

And small wonder! South Africa is rich in colorful sights and vivid contrasts—the big game preserve of Kruger National Park, the primitive villages of Zululand, Victoria Falls, the Kimberley diamond mines, the great gold mines at Johannesburg, beautiful cities and gorgeous gardens . . . And—when you want to relax, there are charming coast resorts and sporty golf clubs, tennis, fishing and famous surf-bathing beaches. South Africa, with its delightful climate, offers the *incomparable* vacation!

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ICELAND'S CAPITAL: *Reykjavik, principal city of Iceland, is growing all the time. With a population of 34,000, Reykjavik has its own amusement centers, banks, and residential districts.*

modious and well-constructed. Their style of dress is no different from that of the Scandinavian countries, except, perhaps, that the Icelanders stress simplicity of design even more than their North European neighbors, who are extremely distasteful of fashion frills themselves. As for diet, the people strike a fair balance between vegetables and meat and fish dishes. Cereal is in favor but must be imported, as is the case with salt and other spices. Figuring large among imports, too, is coal—a commodity whose utility in an Iceland winter is widely recognized among the people. But the problem of keeping warm has found another and less expensive solution: hot springs, which abound in great numbers. The people have learned to utilize nature's own kettles in generating heat and electricity.

Iceland's hot springs, moreover, offer the greatest promise for a boom in tourist travel. Their health qualities have been highly praised and the advantages compare favorably with many of the European health resorts. But it will take some time before the rest of the world will be able to revise its unfortunate conception of Iceland as a country which is only a stone's throw from the North Pole and whose land is utterly inhabitable—totally covered, as its name might suggest, with ice.

This is not to say that Iceland is entirely misnamed. It is true that almost three-quarters of

the country is barren and its inner tableland and mountains are covered with lava areas and glaciers. But the lower portions of the western shore and the southern shore are generously peopled—in a comparative sense. Reykjavik, located on the southwestern shore, has the largest population—34,000—and is the key city and focal point around which Icelandic affairs revolve. Other population centers are Akureyri, Hafnarfjörður, Vestmannaeyjar, and Ísafjörður with a combined total of 15,000 people.

Perhaps Iceland's biggest surprise to the tourist is its everydayness. Reykjavik has its banks, its amusements, its sidewalk cafes, its shopping streets, and its residential sections. The people are courteous, pleasant, and as a group, very highly educated. They will talk to you—in your own language—about contemporary literature and art and will astound you with their knowledge of your own country's authors and writers. And if the subject has to do with government, education, social philosophy, or economics, you will find them equally well at home.

Talk to the Icelander, in fact, about almost anything. But never make the mistake of starting a conversation by asking whether the people live in ice huts and wear skins. For the Icelander is as far removed from an Eskimo as you or I and has developed a considerable sensitivity of this point.

HERE AND THERE

ONCE off the beaten tourist track, the old Arabian Nights' city of Baghdad now finds itself within the circle of tours made possible by new roads and modern motor-buses from the port of Beirut of Jaffa.

Modernism has at last reached into Baghdad. Not only are the new motor roads changing the appearance of the city, but they are creating a new life and activity within the ancient oriental city. Tourists are surprised to look at signposts and see such familiar names as New Street and River Street, or cross a bridge called "Maude" carrying camels, donkeys, mules, goats, and sheep.

Spain is not the only country with a Guadalupe. Mexico's city of this name—described as the Dresden of the New World—is famous for an almost perfect climate, and, according to the local travel bureau, beautiful women and "the absence of that insidious form of insanity alluded to as the strenuous life." It is a beautiful city, set 5,000 feet above sea level in an amphitheater of low hills and centered around a plaza lined with orange trees and studded with flower gardens. Half an hour's ride from the city is San Pedro Tlaquepaque where the Guadalajareños spend their summer vacations—where life is an unhurried round of picnics and parties, twilight promenades and sidewalk chats, moonlight dances and serenades.

Berlin is putting the finishing touches on its preparations for the special celebration of its seven-hundredth birthday this month. A comprehensive exposition called "700 Years of Berlin" will be held in the capital city's exhibition grounds at Kaiserdam. The peak of the festive season will be provided by an historical procession depicting the historical nucleus of Berlin and a festival play with a massed cast to be staged in the Olympic Stadium. Historians believe that Berlin existed in some form or other earlier than 1237, but that date has been decided upon because the city's earliest records go back to that year.

One aspect of the Coronation celebrations receiving comparatively scant attention has been the new streamlined train "Coronation." This crack express covers the 392-mile run between London and Edinburgh in six hours. The average speed makes it the fastest train in the British Empire.



THERE is, of course, no official list of the Seven Wonders of the World. But if you would like to know what are the nominations by

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The World in Books

(Continued from page 7)

the accolades that for so long have been denied him. It is only in the last ten years or so—not too long a time when it is considered that he first entered Congress in 1902—that favorable public opinion on a national scale has “discovered” George Norris. One of twelve Senators braving public sentiment to vote against our entry into the World War, Norris, it was thought at the time, had laid his political tombstone. The press of the country had difficulty in finding words harsh enough to condemn him. But Norris survived, fortunately for the country, and his principles along with him. Today, Norris is in the front ranks of living Americans. The authors predict that he may take his place in history along with Clay and Webster and Calhoun.

It is well that the kindly gentleman from Nebraska is ending his career on a popular note. It is fortunate, too, that time has proved him right in the matter of our entry into the World War. For the intransigence of public opinion is such that men and issues are constantly shifting in favor, depending upon the trend of popular sentiment. If Europe were at war today and it were a fight between the democracies and the forces of fascism, there is no question but that our mass sympathies would be strongly on the side of the former. And led into believing, as we were during the World War, that Germany would lead an expedition into the United States, it would take little effort to plunge us into the conflict. Under these circumstances a Norris, if again opposing our entry, would again be called a traitor. For a war is always justified at the time it is declared; those who oppose it are aides of the enemy. It is only in later years when its futility clearly stands out in retrospect that wars become unnecessary; those who opposed it are national heroes. One hopes that future George W. Norrises of our country will not have to wait to be proven national heroes until after the damage is done.

No greater tribute has ever been accorded Senator Norris than that given by President Roosevelt five years ago: “He stands forth as the very perfect, gentle knight of American progressive ideals . . . he has always been thinking of the rights and welfare of the average citizen.” Last year, the President called him “one of the major prophets of America.”

The authors of *Integrity* have devoted their work almost entirely to a political biography. In this, they have done a commendable job, and

are to be thanked for giving America the record of the career of one of its greatest statesmen. The writing is always interesting, but it is to be regretted, perhaps, that there is not more of the environmental forces and influences in Norris' early life which molded his character and which led him to stand for the things he did.

THE romances of old English royalty have provided rich material which recent literature and cinema productions have hardly ignored. Mr. Gore-Brown's *Lord Bothwell and Mary Queen of Scots* is the story of one of the most famous romances of them all. The story is told in the form of a biography of James Hepburn, 4th Earl of Bothwell, about whom historians have seldom been able to agree. Some have pictured him as a madman, opportunist, and murderer. Some have eulogized him as a great patriot. Mr. Gore-Brown's picture, based upon seven years' research in the archives of the sixteenth century, is that of an impetuous, dynamic, and vengeful individualist. He was thoroughly honest but he expected similar honesty in others. Not always finding it, he would take the law into his own hands. As a lover, Bothwell's talents have never been questioned. His love for Mary was the break in the retaining wall whose mad waters cost him his sanity and life.

Mr. Gore-Brown, with the spirit of a pioneer, has given little attention to historical material written after Bothwell's death. Instead, he has placed reliance only upon the material available in the records of Bothwell's contemporaries. The result is that *Lord Bothwell and Mary Queen of Scots* bears the stamp of authenticity. It serves a double purpose in that it is not only the biography of a man but of a period.

TWO interesting little volumes treating different phases of a subject now very much in the limelight are *Christianity and Communism*, edited by H. Wilson Harris, and *Africa and Christianity*, by Diedrich Westermann.

The book edited by Mr. Harris consists of a number of essays by prominent thinkers on a comparison and contrast of Christianity and communism. Contributing to the symposium are Dr. Ernest Barker, Dr. W. R. Inge, John Strachey, Rev. M. C. D'Arcy, Dr. Joseph Needham, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, and Rev. F. R. Barry. Mr. Harris prefaces the book with the observation that there is a rivalry in England between Christianity as a faith and communism as a creed. He believes that it is impossible to regard both doctrines as fundamentally and irreconcilably opposed. “The one distinctive tenet of communism

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Among the many interesting, informative articles in the September issue are *The Fascist Parade* by Curt L. Heymann; *The Soviet Press*, by Lawrence Martin; and *Ibn Saud*, by Ameen Rihani.

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—“from each according to his ability to each according to his needs”—is as essentially Christian as ‘give to everyone that asketh.’” The way to meet the challenge of communism, he contends, is not to deny that such a challenge exists, but to “face it and meet it.”

And Christianity can, if it wills, beat off that challenge by giving the world more than communism can ever hope to. If the Church is to rally the younger generation and win back those who have pursued the goals of life under communism, it must, asserts Mr. Harris, have a gospel to preach that touches life, and “is seen to touch it.”

The contributors to the symposium who admit the existence of some common ground between Christianity and communism are Dr. Baker, Dr. Joseph Needham, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, and Canon Barry. Communism is viewed by Dr. Inge as a deadly enemy since it is a movement based on hatred, and on the negation of all spiritual values. Father D’Arcy, writing in the same vein, can see no compromise with the ideals in back of the movement.

All in all, the symposium is one of the most stimulating and thought-provoking books that has been published in many months.

DESPITE any or all challenges, Christianity advances throughout the world. Diedrich Westermann, in *Africa and Christianity*, writes of the steady progress of missionary work on the Dark Continent. The Church in Africa, he says, is being built upon solid ground. The native is easily persuaded to adopt a new faith because in his own religion he has less to lose than people adhering to a higher religion. Moreover, Christianity offers him the much-desired membership in a higher social class.

There are few portions of Africa in which Christianity has not come to exercise a definite influence over the social and moral life of the people. But the nature of the native requires that he be given a long religious education and careful, constant attention and guidance before he can stand on his own feet. It is in this sphere that the missionaries are now doing extensive

work. The author believes that as the result of their efforts, the Church has grown to become “one of the powers destined to reshape African life.” Other important influences are science, medicine, and modern industrialization.

Mr. Westermann is particularly well-qualified to discuss the subject. He is director of the International Institute of African languages and professor of African languages at the University of Berlin. The material for *Africa and Christianity* is based upon the Duff Lecture series, which he gave two years ago.

NORTHFIELD, Massachusetts, and its people are the subjects of *A Puritan Outpost*, an engaging and charming story of a New England town by Herbert Collins Parsons. The author has traced their joint development all the way back to 1700. Northfield was the “outpost” of Puritan pioneering in the seventeenth century and lived the typical life of an outpost community, repulsing recurrent Indian invasions and attacks from land-seeking foreign groups. Against this background of pioneer civilization Northfield carved its history. It is a history that tells of the wars of the eighteenth century, the American Revolution, the Civil War, and the World War. The story is brought up to the present with the account of the spring floods of 1936.

There is a warm and mellow quality to Mr. Parsons’ narrative that is easier to perceive than to describe. It is the same soft glow that fills one after lingering over a family photograph album. Herbert Parsons walks through the town today and muses over the many changes which have taken place in his own lifetime—75 years. The changes have not so much been in the physical appearance of the town but in the people. “The broad street is shaded by the same elms, arching over its traveled way. . . . The houses are familiar, less austere through the sometimes doubtful adornment of piazzas. . . . It is in their occupants that the returning visitor is interested.” The James house, two centuries old, still stands, and the “cottage from which Uncle Mark Woodard used to start his walk up-street to the post office, followed by his dutifully trained pig, is now the property of Charles F. Slate, the pre-Roosevelt postmaster. . . .”

The changes in population signify the transformation, he says, which has come about through the disappearance of old families and the replacement by others. A number of the town’s “old families” have simmered out during the last 70 years, their places to be taken by people “of the same sort and with the same thrift and pride in their homes.”

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